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THE ROYAL CANADIAN LEGION: A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with four broad issues. First, it attempts an ethnographic account of an organization found within a complex industrialized Western nation. This organization belongs to that class of social groups termed VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS, and is known as the Royal Canadian Legion. This group is most concerned with broad issues affecting the Canadian veterans of the two World Wars. It has, however, evolved into a complex organization involved in community work, socialization of the Canadian youth, local entertainment and social activities within neighborhoods or towns and cities; as well, it is an interest group representing veteran affairs in Canadian politics.

The second concern of this thesis is an examination of the traditional approach of the social sciences to voluntary associations. It will show the inadequacies of that approach and will outline a more productive interpretation of these organizations. This interpretation will be of equal value in the analysis of voluntary associations as they are found in both traditional and western complex societies.

Since voluntary associations have been intimately connected with SOCIAL CHANGE, the third task of this thesis will be an examination of a new approach to the analysis of social change. This analysis of social change has tried to avoid several pitfalls in the use of the normative approach. These pitfalls have restricted our understanding of change and continuity as being the result of similar processes

within society. The thesis will advocate a rejection of the normative approach to social order and will base its interpretation of social change on an understanding of societies as essentially being "arenas of negotiation".

Since this understanding of social behavior is essentially a political one, some of the mechanisms available to political man will be examined. Thus, the fourth concern of this thesis will be a re-analysis of ritual, symbols and myth such that they are not perceived as ahistorical and unmotivated, that is, unrelated to the interests of individuals. It does not interpret myth, ritual and symbol as being exclusively concerned with mystical beliefs or super-natural power, but instead relates them to the action and goals of everyday behavior. The thesis will, therefore, show the historical and motivational qualities of myth, ritual and symbols as they occur within the Royal Canadian Legion. It will also show how these three phenomena play an important role in the negotiations of the Legion in the wider community.

The thesis concludes that voluntary associations are involved in an ongoing social pattern of negotiation for power and prestige within a social group. These negotiations result in specific forms of continuity or change within society - depending on the goals of the group involved or the outcome of their negotiations with the wider community. It futher concludes that this negotiation process involves a methodology of social interactions which includes the use of symbols, ritual and myth - sometimes cohesively organized within the rubric of a voluntary association. To demonstrate this

interpretation, the thesis will utilize data from the ethnographic account of the Royal Canadian Legion as it is found in present-day Canadian society.

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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

Part One, the Introductory chapter is composed of four parts. In Part One the problem which is the major concern of this thesis will be outlined, followed by an overview of the cross-cultural data on voluntary associations in Part Two. Part Three dicusses the definitional problems which have complicated the analysis of voluntary associations and sets forth the definition employed in this study. Part Four introduces the reader to the subject of analysis, the Royal Canadian Legion and explains the historical development and the organizational structure of that association.

PART ONE - STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The Royal Canadian Legion falls under the category of those organizations which social scientists have termed voluntary associations. Although much research has focused on these organizations, the precise nature of the voluntary association is still not understood. This thesis will argue that voluntary associations in general have a dualistic nature, and this nature allows them to play a dual role in the larger society. The role includes stimulating some types of social change, while at the same time upholding and reinforcing certain conservative values and orientations widespread among the associational membership. Preliminary steps to this analysis of voluntary associations in

general and the Royal Canadian Legion in particular, has included an assessment of the literature on voluntary associations, especially that of the Social Sciences, to establish the cross-cultural regularity of the dualistic principle of voluntary associations.

This same literature has been examined to assess the definitions of voluntary associations employed in the Social Sciences, and some means of resolving the definitional confusions that have emerged are suggested. Since voluntary associations have been linked to social change in most of the above research, the models of social change employed shall be examined in the light of the data from the Royal Canadian Legigon. Finally, a model will be proposed which has explanatory value in the specific case of the Royal Canadian Legion. This model includes the analysis of myth, ritual and symbol in the operation of voluntary associations. The findings of this research suggest that this same model may have explanatory value in regards to voluntary associations in general, and the role they play in both traditional and complex societies. The data employed in the research is drawn from the archives of the Legion and from participation-observation in several branches in two cities in Western Canada.

In the past, research on voluntary associations has been focused on questions arising out of three broad theoretical issues (Tomeh 1973). These issues include, first, the nature and structure of society; second, the social-psychological aspects of the individual within society and third, the organizational analysis of institutions operating within specific societies. Social Science has generally

employed a functional and a normative approach in addressing these three issues; that is, explanations have been sought in the function of these organizations, their value and their relation to the equilibrium and consistency found within society (Murphy 1971: 55). The work done on voluntary associations in reference to these issues has conformed to that pattern. The function of voluntary associations as societal building blocks or social integrators has been examined. The role of voluntary associations in the psychological adjustments of individuals within society has been explored and the organizational adjustments of voluntary associations to the social environment has also been investigated in some depth. What is striking about this research is its essentially descriptive format. Few people speculate on how voluntary associations are able to perform all these functions and roles. The majority of research into voluntary associations has resulted in low level generalizations based on descriptive methods of analysis.

A survey of the literature (on voluntary associations) in both Anthropology and Sociology reveals that each discipline has evolved a unique set of problems in its study of voluntary associations, and that these problems to a large extent stem from the methodology employed and the presuppositions which underlie the work. Such problems have effectively blocked the production of an analytically rigorous model. On the one hand, Sociology seems to be asking the wrong questions, with rather sterile theoretical consequences, (see for example Palisi 1968, Ross 1972), on the other hand, Anthropology, while asking some interesting questions seems reluctant to follow them

through to any theoretical conclusions (see for example Anderson and Anderson 1962). The recent tailing off of literature concerned with voluntary associations in the journals of both disciplines has been the result of these problems. This seems to me a premature abandonment of a promising area of research, since voluntary associations appear to be responsible for an unusually large proportion of the social interaction of the members of most societies.

As the above discussion would seem a blanket condemnation of the research done by Social Scientists, these statements should be qualified. In both Anthropology and Sociology, the majority of research in this area has been carried out within an evolutionary model of social change (Banton 1968: 357). Social change, while viewed as inevitable, is also viewed as having certain regular features. One of these features is the trend away from involuntary (i.e. ascribed) social groupings, such as kin groups, toward voluntary (i.e. achieved) kinds of groups, such as associations. As societies "modernize", the base upon which most social interaction is founded shifts from emotive ties of the family to goal-oriented ties of the business, the political party or the voluntary association. Since the orientation employed in the research on voluntary associations has been normative, the consequences of social change are largely viewed as disruptive. Voluntary associations have largely been examined as institutions which respond to those negative aspects of modernization and urbanization such as the disintegration of family ties and impersonalization of social life. Since modernization and urbanization are viewed as inevitable outcomes of the process of

progress, voluntary associations are viewed as playing a very positive adaptive role in society (see, for example, Little 1966).

The pursuit of this normative orientation has resulted in Sociology and to a lesser extent Anthropology, becoming caught up in statistical generalizations and in correlation studies. The methodology employed in these studies was the correlation of one trait or set of traits with one another such that a relationship is said to exist between them. The nature of this relationship is seldom delineated except in rather deterministic arguments, a common problem in functional analysis. An example of this type of argument is the preoccupation of many Sociologists with the phenomena of participation.

Participation patterns are one correlate that is easily subjected to statistical manipulation, and thus, according to Babchuk and Warriner (1965: 196), has empirical relevance. The emphasis on this trait of participation has led to the development of what could be called the "you can't get there from here" school. This school argues that exhaustive studies of participation patterns in voluntary associations have shown that no such organization as a voluntary association exists. It does not exist because in no organization is participation of members fully voluntary. Participation is actually the result of latent social forces which include variables such as race, ethnicity, religion, socio-economic status and age (Palisi 1968; Ross 1972). Any individual joining an association is thus steered and influenced by social forces beyond his control. In effect, it is speculated that individuals in society have little or no free choice

in their selection of associational membership. This is the logical conclusion of the use of deterministic normative models.

Anthropologists have often avoided such determinism in their models. Further, the cross-cultural data base available to them has never allowed for a narrow focus on participation characteristics. They have found voluntary associations of varying types with varying membership in societies of Africa, Asia, Europe and North America and they have found these organizations at every level of socio-political organization, from tribal to complex societies. Because of this enormous range of voluntary associations, researchers such as Meillassoux (1968), Little (1957, 1966), Robert and Gallatin Anderson (1959, 1962) and Robert Anderson (1971) have found voluntary associations to be highly complex social phenomenon as well as important sources of social information. Raymond Morris (1965: 199) has pointed out that the British research interest in the function of voluntary associations has been to show how these organizations reinforce social stability while American research has been concerned with showing how voluntary associations stimulate social change. Morris feels that this is the result of the concerns of the different American and British funding agencies; it as well may be a result of the historic development of the discipline in each of these countries. However, Anderson (1971) has recently pointed out that voluntary associations often perform both functions at the same time. While this seems a contradiction, the resolution of the contradiction lies in the form of social change which these associations stimulate.

That voluntary associations perform two somewhat contradictory

functions at the same time is not a surprising conclusion to reach if research on these organizations is examined. The full significance of such a conclusion has perhaps not been recognized because of the above mentioned preoccupation with the normative role of voluntary associations in change. Many early researchers recognized that metaphorically speaking, the voluntary association served as a bridge between the traditional lifestyle and the new. Both Meillassoux (1968) and Little (1957) observed that many traditional ethnic associational patterns were transported to the African urban situation where voluntary associations proliferated. Meillassoux (1968: 145-6) restricted himself to the observation that these new urban associations had their roots in traditional associational forms but were being utilized to address modern urban problems. Little (1966) on the other hand, made an essentially Durkheimian argument which proposed that voluntary associations addressed the single largest problem of African urban centres; the problem of extreme heterogeneity.

To be precise, the problem which voluntary associations address in South African cities and towns is a result of the complex heterogeneity of African urban populations (Little 1966: 85). Because of the tribal, racial and ethnic mixtures found within African cities, extreme social and cultural discontinuity results in a lack of social integration. Little wrote:

> Divided... by traditional attitudes as well as by language, custom and religion the town can have no single system of social norms (Ibid: 86).

Little argues that anomie was restrained by the fact that voluntary associations of all kinds and forms provided links between the traditional and the urban lifestyles and aspirations. In other words, through their dualistic nature, voluntary associations operated to facilitate the movement from rural to urban values, norms and statuses:

> Their combination of modern and traditional traits constitutes a cultural bridge which conveys, metaphorically speaking, the tribal individual from one kind of sociological universe to another (Ibid: 93).

In summary, Little's argument can be summed up in four basic points.

Little argues that first, urbanization is the heart of social change; second, that industrialization is the main impetus to urban growth, third, that industrialization requires a new social pattern of roles and values, and fourth, that the new forms of social organization and institutions emerge so fast and are so detached from the traditional base that their functional relation to the old system is weak. Therefore, voluntary associations are seen as the means whereby a new collective life is established - one more in line with the demands of an urban life situation, while at the same time connected with the past.

It is the implicit statement of the dual nature of voluntary associations which is interesting in Little's work. Voluntary associations facilitate change because of an ability to be two things at once; they are the initiators of what has been called the "rational-legal" social organization, and they are the urban bastion of tribal and ethnic values. Thus, they are able to uphold the

traditional values while pragmatically incorporating new elements necessary for the development of different societal patterns. Nevertheless, it is proposed that the recognition of voluntary associations as mechanistically adaptive mechanisms under conditions of social change is not sufficient to fully comprehend their unique nature. This nature is dynamic, not static, proactive, not reactive, and dynamic models are needed to explain the operations of these organizations. This dynamic nature may be supplied by the motivations of individuals who group together to create such associations.

My concern in this thesis is to explore the means whereby voluntary associations are able to play a mediating role in society between maintaining social stability while, at the same time, facilitating social change. It is argued that this role is not the result of the operation of an automatic mechanism in society. It depends on the efforts of individuals. Further, as Anderson (1971) has pointed out, these organizations seem to come into existence in the absence of institutions which might be expected to accept responsibility for conditions which need addressing. This suggests to me that the dualistic nature of voluntary associations operates to facilitate people's efforts to control the direction which change takes. This direction of social change is often the result of the members of voluntary associations striving to perpetuate those highly valued aspects of the traditional lifestyle while recognizing and meeting the realities of changing conditions. Therein lies the resolution of the contradictory nature of voluntary associations. Therefore, my criticisms of Little and others using the evolutionary

model of social change includes the passive role which the individual plays in their arguments and the static nature of their models of voluntary associations; the second may be the result of the first.

How can this passive role for the individual in most sociological theorizing be modified? There has long been a strong tradition in the Social Sciences to downgrade the role of the individual in social process (see Murphy 1971, passim). Attempts to challenge this tradition meet with strong resistance from the ranks of the scholars who fear to reject or modify Durkheimian constructs (see Parsons 1978). However, there is a strong trend developing which focuses on the two-dimensional nature of man (Cohen 1974). As Cohen and Barthes (1957) have pointed out, man is a political animal and a symbolizing animal. These two dimensions of man are intimately related - and this thesis will provide an argument in favor of that position.

Another unfortunate trend in the approach of Anthropology to the data on voluntary associations is the result of definitional problems. Since voluntary associations have been observed in so many societies, at so many different levels of organization, the term as an analytical concept has threatened to become meaningless because it has become so all-inclusive. As an example of this, one article defined voluntary associations as:

> ...a group organized for the pursuit of one interest or of several interests in common (Banton 1968: 357).

A concomitant trend to the above is the general lack of definition of voluntary association found within Anthropological research. Some of the authors of articles on voluntary associations never define the

term at all. They work with a very loose concept which is obviously held to be generally understood - rather like culture or society or kinship. As a result, little that has been produced on the topic has cross-cultural comparative value since it is difficult to establish that comparable phenomena are being examined. As an example of this definitional difficulty, the Royal Canadian Legion operates under a corporate charter within Canadian society; how can I justify examining a corporate organization as a voluntary association? This problem has been resolved by an analysis of "organizations" such that voluntary associations and corporations are two positions on the same continuum (see Part III, Chapter One). Standardization of definitions pertaining to either of these types of organizations has not yet been achieved.

The preliminary steps to this analysis are, therefore, threefold. First, since I am attempting to explore the role which voluntary associations play in society, I must adequately define the organizations as a general category. The resolution of this definitional problem will be made more difficult by the data which is under analysis since the Legion has its origins in a complex, industrialized society. Secondly, I must find a model of social change which has explanatory value for the data under analysis. Third, I must present a model which will explain the operation of voluntary associations in general, and the Legion in particular. This model must be dynamic if it is to approximate the complex reality of voluntary associations in society. Further, the model must incorporate an understanding of the role which myth, ritual and symbol

play in creating the dynamic quality of voluntary associations. The task is a complex one and requires addressing three major topics; the operation of voluntary associations, the operation of social change and the role of myth, ritual and symbol in the political activities of man.

PART TWO - THE CROSS-CULTURAL DATA

Within the discipline of Anthropology, a great deal of cross-cultural data on voluntary associations has accumulated. As was mentioned before, most of this data has been interpreted under a functional mode of analysis. While much of the material refers to developing nations or third world countries, there is also material gathered in Western industrialized nations and in traditional and tribal societies. Yet the tendency to link the occurrence of these organizations, not only with social change, but with "modernization" remains consistent. Little attempt has been made to understand these organizations from a historical perspective.

A great deal of the proposed functional effects of voluntary associations, wherever they are found, are what Merton (1957: 63) has called latent consequences. In other words, the consequences are not intentional on the part of the actors. For example, Little (1966) and Meillassoux (1968) both postulated that urbanization and modernization in African communities were more efficiently achieved due to the emergence of modern voluntary associations out of traditional associations. This was not always a function intended by the

organizers, but rather, an unplanned consequence of that organization. Functions seem to fall into five broad categories based on the author's interpretation of the relationship between the association and change or continuity within the society.

These categories include the following. First, the analysis of voluntary associations as "reflexive" mechanisms which respond to change is very common. Second, the analysis of voluntary associations as mechanisms to maintain the status quo occurs commonly among those researchers working in industrialized western societies. Third, the view that voluntary associations operate as actual agents of social change often occurs in analyses of data from non-western societies. Fourth, there are those who argue that voluntary associations can both initiate social change and/or reinforce normative conditions as agents of socialization. Finally, the position favored in this thesis argues that associations may perform all of the above roles depending on the interests and needs of the members of the group. This fifth and final category views voluntary associations as a political mechanism.

The first and largest category contains that majority of articles which interpret voluntary associations as predominantly adaptive mechanisms. As such, these associations are "vehicles" and not "motors" for social change (Anderson 1971: 218). Through voluntary associations, men are prepared psychologically and socially to meet changing social or environmental conditions. These organizations are especially effective during periods of rapid transition from old social patterns to new lifestyles. According to this type of analysis, voluntary associations are not formed by individuals who

wish to direct the change occurring around them, but are merely reactions to changing conditions and an attempt to cope with those conditions.

Thus, Little (1957, 1966, 1972) has argued that voluntary associations flourish in the new urban centres of West Africa because they replace the highly personal relationships found in the traditional milieu; they provide mutual aid in dealing with urban problems and in addition, train the individual to new roles, privileges and duties. For example, West African women have utilized voluntary associations to aid them in acquiring new skills necessary to affect a process of upward mobility under new conditions (Little 1972). Traditional associations, transplanted into the city of Bamako in West Africa took on functions of adaptive value to the individual similar to the above according to Meillassoux (1968). Many researchers in Africa and other developing areas have reported latent functions similar to the findings of Little and Meillassoux (see Jonassen 1974, La Fontaine 1970, Parkin 1966, Ruel 1964, Wheeldon 1969, Hamer 1967).

Following in this same tradition, other researchers have investigated industrialized nations and have found the same adaptive mechanism. Most notably, Robert and Gallatin Anderson (1962, 1959) have studied Ukrainian immigrants to France, as well as an urbanizing Danish village and have argued that voluntary associations have been used by repressed minority groups and also by rural populations facing increasing bureaucratization in order to protect their specific interests. It has been noted by other investigators that immigrants

often utilize voluntary associations in their efforts to adapt to new conditions. Freedman (1961) for example, noted this process among the Chinese immigrants to Singapore during the colonial era, as did Topley (1961). Spanish expatriates in Mexico also formed voluntary associations, each successive wave of immigrants creating their own organizations (Kenny 1961). In an interesting twist on this theme, Norbeck (1962) noted that the popularity of voluntary associations drastically increased in Japan, after the American occupation. These organizations were modelled after similar American institutions and were instrumental associations in that they were attempting to introduce new American concepts into Japanese society (Ibid: 76). Among others, these associations included agricultural co-operatives, parent-teacher associations, crime prevention and funeral groups.

Another interpretation of voluntary associations rests on the argument that rather than encourage change, they actually act to maintain the status quo. In many cases, this maintenance role is related to socio-political organization. For example, in tribal societies or among small-scale technologically primitive groups, voluntary associations are seen as important governing or socializing institutions (Banton 1968, Mayer and Mayer 1970). In industrialized societies, on the other hand, these organizations often function to support the normative order (Babchuk and Edwards 1965). Those who have focused their research in the United States have argued that voluntary associations are related to class distinctions (Garbin and Laughlin 1965, Willmott 1974, Dotson 1951). Anyone who has visited a

country club may be sympathetic to this interpretation. In rural areas of modern European states, Anderson and Anderson (1962) have discovered that voluntary associations reify the rigid class structure. Membership in voluntary associations was found to be restricted to the middle and upper classes and the organizations provided a forum for unified "class action". In Japan (Nakane 1970), voluntary associations reflect the work situation in their strict hierarchical organization of ranking status. Thus, these associations reinforce the hierarchical principle of Japanese society and in so doing they protect the status quo.

A few of the articles surveyed supported arguments that voluntary associations are able to either initiate social change or work to reinforce the normative condition (Babchuk and Edwards 1965, Smith 1966). Gugler and Flanagan (1978) argue that West African voluntary associations are active agents in historical change as well as functional agents of socialization into the normative order, or agents of personal change. They point out that there are three forms of change within a society: historical change, which is change throughout the entire system, situational change, which allows an individual actor to discover alternative behavior patterns and finally, biographical change, which includes individual cyclic growth and development. Voluntary associations play a role in each of these types of change according to Gugler and Flanagan. It has been argued as well, that in applied programs of social change, only those indigenous voluntary associations that could be adapted to the purpose of the program directors should be utilized since it is these

organizations that people would use themselves to effect changes in their lives (Kerr 1978).

In one of the more interesting recent articles on voluntary associations, another alternative is suggested in interpreting the role of voluntary associations in West Africa. In seeking to test Little's assumption that voluntary associations are adaptive mechanisms that aid new arrivals to the urban scene, Barnes (1975) discovered a few discrepancies in the data. In Lagos, Nigeria, it is not the new arrivals which swell the ranks of voluntary associations but rather the immigrant who has permanently settled in the urban milieu. Often as long as six years elapse before membership in an association is sought (Ibid: 83). Also, Barnes notes that the Ibo, who are in a minority situation within the city of Lagos, rely more heavily on voluntary associations in adapting to urban conditions than do the Yoruba, an ethnic group in the majority. Thus, voluntary associations are more often formed by settled immigrants who are now city wise than by new arrivals seeking aid in making a traumatic transition. They are also formed more often by minority groups than by those in the majority. Though this data does not contradict the mutual aid nature of Little's argument, it does throw a new light on the needs which voluntary associations fill. The inference from the above data is that associations serve to negotiate rights and social status for those committed to urban life, but who are also in a disadvantaged position within the urban situation. Thus, Barnes provides data to support a position which views voluntary associations as organs of negotiation for specific interest or ethnic groups within

society. Banton (1968) has pointed out that these associations often are involved in the pursuit or defense of economic or political interests.

There are therefore, five loose categories in those approaches which researchers have taken towards the functional nature of voluntary associations. Most articles follow the lead of Little (1966) and Meillassoux (1968), and argue that voluntary associations are purely reflexive mechanisms which are associated with social change only because they provide the means of adapting to change. Some articles take the position that voluntary associations, far from stimulating social change, actually function to inhibit change and reinforce the status quo. A few authors have argued that these organizations can either operate as adaptive mechanisms or operate in such a way as to defend the status quo. They point out that these two operations are often necessary in the same social system. Two articles expressed an argument that voluntary associations can actually be active agents in social change, and a few articles presented data in defense of a case which views these associations as capable of performing many roles in society, including all of the above. However, none of the above research was able to suggest the means whereby voluntary associations achieve the above functions in society.

In this thesis, it is argued that voluntary associations are, in fact, organs of negotiations, and, depending on who is doing the negotiating and what is being negotiated for, voluntary associations may perform some or all of the above functions within society, often

within the same institution. Because they are adaptable to the expression of any one of a wide range of goals, needs or interests, voluntary associations may serve many different functions within the same society by serving the needs and goals of many different interest groups. But before we can speculate on the means whereby voluntary associations are able to achieve such diverse goals and ends, we must first specify what is meant by the term voluntary association and also what criteria are used to separate these organizations from other institutions within complex societies.

PART THREE - DEFINITIONAL ISSUES

The object of this discussion is to address some definitional difficulties which affect the ethnographer undertaking studies in complex societies. These definitional problems surround the investigation of social organizations within these societies, especially those organizations termed voluntary associations. A working definition of voluntary associations will be sought by contrasting those organizations with corporations, a closely related type of group. In very general terms, the second is a specific type of the first, since, as Davis (1961) has pointed out, corporations are associational in structure and voluntary in nature. However, most Social Scientists deal with the two forms of organization as strictly separate phenomena, despite the difficulty of so separating them "on the ground". This is a problem which is especially difficult in

complex, industrialized societies. I do not pretend to have reached a final resolution of this problem, but am simply stating at the outset the means by which it is resolved in this thesis.

In my analysis of the Royal Canadian Legion, coming to some resolution of the above issue has proven to be important since this organization shows the structure and operational characteristics of both a corporation and a voluntary association. While it is recognized that any definition formed by an analyst will reflect the methodology and the nature of his research problem, I had hoped to resolve this problem in a less than arbitrary fashion through an examination of the literature on voluntary associations and on corporations to discover some treatment of these topics which would be adaptable to my purpose. It was hoped that especially in Anthropology, where an explicit cross-cultural comparative approach is often utilized, that some standardization of definitions pertaining to these organizations might have been achieved.

Unfortunately, in a survey of twenty-seven articles dealing with voluntary associations, only nine articles were evaluated as giving adequate definitions (Etzioni 1961, Plotnicov 1962, Banton 1968, Meillassoux 1968, Sills 1968, Hage and Aiken 1970, Nakane 1970, Anderson 1971, Tomeh 1973). Only four of these provided good working definitions which elucidated variables of analysis which can be utilized in future research of equitable phenomena. The author must present his model with sufficient clarity for the reader to be able to extract these variables. In the above nine articles most of the definitions are more descriptive than analytical; for example,

Anderson (1971: 212) wrote that the following characteristics are common to all voluntary associations:

1. magico-religious aspect
2. ritual induction and secret rites and ceremonies
3. a system of mythological justification
4. a "power function", i.e. uniting a group against some opposition
5. countervailing women's organizations.

This definition nicely describes the Royal Canadian Legion, but it does not allow for a separation of those corporate aspects of the Legion from the associational aspects. Tomeh (1973: 92) provides a more concrete definition:

> "Formal groups" and "voluntary associations" have been used interchangeably to mean organizations in which membership depends on the free choice of the individual while severance rests at the will of either party.... usually non-profit in nature and...organized to pursue mutual and personal interests of the members so as to achieve common goals.

While Tomeh's definition is generally more common in the literature than Anderson's more descriptive definition, Tomeh could be talking about anything from the Shriners to a labour union to the Roman Catholic Church. Can each of these be considered similar phenomena?

While these definitions seem to lack a certain analytical rigor, they are evidence at least, of an attempt to come to grips with the system of social relationships under analysis. In the majority of the articles surveyed, there was no attempt made to provide the reader with the "ground rules" of the analysis (Sills 1959, Little 1966,

Kenny 1961, Freeman 1961, Topley 1961, Ruel 1964, Parkin 1966, Little 1972, Gugler and Flanagan 1978 to name the worst offenders).

The most useful sets of criteria for critical discrimination of social organizations (based on processual factors) were found within four more general articles. For example, in an article which attempted a comparative analysis of complex organizations, Etzioni (1961) uses the variable of "compliance" in a model which examines both the structural and the motivational aspects of any organization. He defines compliance as the result or effectiveness of social controls and writes that three major sources of social control are coercion, economic assets and normative values: these sources of control specify coercive, utilitarian and normative organizations. The coercive organization depends on various forms of force to effect compliance while the utilitarian organization depends on perceived economic benefits to achieve control and compliance over the membership. Voluntary associations are often the third form of organization - the normative organization Etzioni defines as:

> ...organization in which normative power is the major source of control over most lower participants, whose orientation to the organization is characterized by high committment (Ibid: 40).

He argues that compliance in normative organizations rests on:

> ...internalization of directives accepted as legitimate. Leadership, rituals, manipulation of social and prestige symbols, and resocialization are among the more important techniques of control used (Ibid: 41).

Under this model, corporations can be separated from voluntary associations since corporations are organizations which almost

exclusively utilize utilitarian compliance, while voluntary associations most often utilize normative methods of control. Etzioni points out, however, that some organizations may have dual compliance structures where more than one compliance pattern is predominant, for example, labour unions.

A Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft distinction used by Plotnicov (1962) compares "fixed-membership" groups with "flexible-membership" groups. Like Etzioni, Plotnicov argues that the formative principles of associational groups are based on the members remaining members due to their continued support of the basic values and ideologies of that group. This thesis will argue that this membership commitment is achieved through the use of myth, ritual and symbols specific to the group. This argument will be discussed in Chapter Two. In the meantime, it is enough to point out that Etzioni, Plotnicov and Hage and Aiken (1970) have all stressed the commitment of members as an important variable in distinguishing voluntary associations from other types of groups found within society.

In an analysis of Japanese society, Nakane (1970) argues for the use of two basic contrasting criteria in the study of groups. The two criteria are attribute and frame; the first being based on individuals sharing common attributes (i.e. We are pipefitters) and the second is based on shared situational position in a given frame of reference. She notes:

> Frame may be a locality, an institution or a particular relationship which binds a set of individuals into one group (Ibid: 1).

An example of a common frame might be working for the same company, being a member of the same political party or school. From the nature of her arguments, it can be seen that Nakane considers organizations based on attribute to include voluntary associations while organizations based on frame include family and corporations.

If the term voluntary association seems to lack definition in Anthropology, at least there is some consensus to the ways in which it can be used. Corporation, on the other hand, is a term with no such consensus in use. Taking a cue from Cochrane (1971), I attempted to survey current legal definitions of the term to see whether the arguments for restricting our use of the term corporation to the narrow jural understanding of it would be feasible. Like Goodenough (1971) I was forced to conclude that there is no "narrow" jural use of the term in Canadian law.[1] The words "corporation", "incorporated" and "limited" are used exclusively to identify group persons recognized by the state. As Davis (1961: 34) points out, however, corporations are more than mere fictive personalities with state sanction:

> A corporation is a body of persons upon whom the state has conferred such voluntarily accepted but compulsory maintained relations to one another and to all others that as an autonomous, self-sufficient and self-renewing body they may determine and enforce their common will, and in the pursuit of their private interest may exercise more efficiently social functions both specifically conducive to public welfare and most appropriately exercised by association persons.

The interesting aspect of this definition is first, that it does not mention relations between people and property, and second, that except

for the state conferrence of legal status and the stipulation in regards to compulsory maintenance of the relationship, Davis could be describing voluntary associations.

It is interesting that Meillassoux (1968: 70) discovered that voluntary associations which were denied free existence under the post-colonial governments in parts of Africa, went underground to carry out their operations. It is also interesting that within Anthropology, this aspect of the relationship between the corporate group and the state has not been attributed significance. Most Anthropologists would argue that numerous social bodies have "corporateness" without the need for a larger jural group conferring it upon them. Indeed, there is some recognition of this fact in legal theory in the "realist" position on corporations which argues that when a group reaches a continuity of experience, then a new personality has actually come into existence, regardless of whether or not the state accords it legal recognition.

Another aspect of the legal concept of corporations is the recognition which is given by the courts to the fact that present-day corporations are mere "umbrellas" under which enormous variability of form may be found. This is reflected in the wide range of types of incorporation available. This range is necessary because of the needs of differing kinds of social groups desiring corporation status. Another reflection of this recognition is the legal identification of "corporate veils" which surround the true operations of many corporations (Ziegel 1967: 23). The courts have argued that they must be able to penetrate this veil to gain an understanding of the

actual nature of property relations and relations between members of a corporate group. This corporate veil can also be an obstruction to the attempts of Anthropologists to gain a true understanding of the nature of corporate groups in complex societies.

One analyst who has attempted to penetrate the corporate veil in order to evaluate the operation of corporate groups within a society is Appell (1976). He has utilized two sets of oppositions to define three different forms of corporate groups. These three forms are distinguished by the means by which a group holds property: (for example, interests can be "held in severalty" or interests can be held in common) and by the relationship between the members of the group and the wider society; (for example, a social group may have the capacity to enter (as a group) into jural relations within the wider social system or it may not have such a capacity). Thus, the two opposing units can be called: first, relations between people and property, and second, relations between people. The three forms of corporate group which he differentiates on the basis of the above characteristics are first, the jural isolate, second, the jural aggregate and third, the jural collectivity - each of which operates in a different way within society. The jural aggregate is:

> ...a social grouping whose social existence is not recognized by the jural system under analysis...

and, further, which owns property "in severalty", in other words, as distinct entities (Appell 1976: 68-69). An individual member of the group holds interests in property as an individual would and is a member of a group only in the sense that other individuals also have

interests in the same piece of property.

The jural isolate, on the other hand, is a social unit which is recognized by the jural system under analysis and which bears rights and duties in property as a unit. The group (usually bearing a personality distinct from those of its individual members) controls the property of the group through representatives who conduct its affairs in the larger social realm (Ibid: 69). Finally, the jural collectivity is a social group which is recognized by the jural system, and which holds property in severalty among the membership. This group does not have a distinct separate jural personality, but the state will accord certain members the right to act on behalf of the whole. Appell's approach supports Dow's (1973: 906) argument that Anthropology has used the concept of corporation to fill two needs, first, the need to specify folk concepts of ownership or proprietorship and second, the need to specify the organization of groups. It also shows how the specification of the organization of groups must take into account both the internal organization and the relationship of the group to the wider society.

In general then, the survey of the corporation literature does not provide definitions which will allow for the discrimination of voluntary associations from corporations, any more than does the literature concerned with voluntary associations. Perhaps the problem results from what Leach (1961: 2) has called the tendency among Anthropologists for mere "butterfly collecting". By focusing on the operation of these organizations in society, perhaps we have missed their essential similarity in structure. Nevertheless, while their

structure may be very similar, their operation is generally very different. Corporations usually focus on regulation of the relationship between people and property, while voluntary associations usually focus on the relationship between groups of people. The distinction is one of economics and politics.

To state my conclusions then, I have found the best definition of the term voluntary association is that it designates a set of interests and questions rather than a special kind of organization (Warriner and Prather 1965: 138). Warriner and Prather have pointed out that the difference is one of the kinds of organizations about which data is collected, but I would argue that it is the kinds of data collected from the same organization which provides the distinction. This became very evident to me in my analysis of the Legion, which operates in Canadian society both as a voluntary association and as a corporation (or perhaps an association of corporations). Since the Legion operates as both a corporation and an association, an argument I will return to later, how can I justify the analysis of this organization as a voluntary association?

The resolution of this problem rests on the above mentioned tendency of corporations to be more exclusively concerned with economic relations and of voluntary associations to be concerned with political relations. One rather relativistic way to view these organizations, therefore, is to see them as occupying a grid. The grid is not a means of quantifying data, but rather of organizing it relative to the above two criteria. The two axis of the grid would therefore, represent the nature of the relations between members,

between members and non-members and between members and group-held property. A representation of such a grid can be found on page 37. An explanation of the two continuum making up Axis I and II, and a description of the two extremes of each continuum can be found below.

AXIS I: "Relations Between People" Common to the Group

End I: this extreme represents those organizations in which members relate more strongly to the group that to individuals within it. Members have no obligations to take part in one-to-one interaction (though such interaction is possible). There is little or no emotive nature to relationships between members when such relationships do exist, and there are few reciprocal arrangements of exchange. Individual anonymity is often high and this allows for heterogeneity among the membership. Although a set of duties and obligations often exist between member and group, there is normally little or no moral force to these obligations. There is often an intense division of labour among members and hierarchical structures of status and authority may be present. These organizations are often what Etzioni (1961: 39) called "utilitarian organizations" and their membership compliance is obtained through economic means. The group is usually recognized by the jural system of the society, however, members are rarely expected to perform as representatives of the group in interaction with the wider community. Indeed, the structure of the group is often such that individuals are protected from such exposure. The prime affiliation of members, therefore, is to the group and not

with other members, and membership is often on a nonpermanent basis. One example of this form of organization is a corporation of the investing public or a public company which is an organization formed so that members of the investing public can take part in the profits of an enterprise without taking any part in the management.

End II: at this end of AXIS I, we have organizations in which members relate to other individuals within the group in a primary manner, that is, on an intense one-to-one basis, with strong ties of affection and intense reciprocity. These organizations often have a strong ritual and symbolic unity with homogenous membership. There is often a moral nature to the definition of relations between members, and often the organization stresses mutual aid between members. Because of the high development of a "collective consciousness" these organizations must stress intense socialization of new members. Commitment is based on common belief in associational value systems and goals. Membership recruitment is based on normative values (Etzioni 1961: 41) and membership is often expected to be life-long. These organizations often stress the equality between members and the democratic nature of their internal organization. Because of this egalitarian ideal, any individual member may represent the organization in the wider community, once he is designated by his fellow members to do so. The group may or may not be recognized by the jural system in their society. An extreme form of this type of organization may be the religious sect.

AXIS II: "Relationship of People to Property" Common to the Group

End I: at this extreme of AXIS II, organizations would conform to Appell's (1976: 68-69) jural isolate discussed above. The group would be recognized by the jural system and the rights and duties in scarce goods and services would be held by the unit. This type of organization enters into relations in the jural realm as an individual would, and commits only the group resources, not the resources of individual members. Most corporate groups hold property in this fashion and strictly regulate the individual members rights towards the "common property". This regulation is usually found in legal entities, within the charter of the organization. All corporations based on share or subscription capital are examples of this type of organization.

End II: this end of the continuum is represented by organizations conforming to Appell's (1976: 68-69) jural aggregate or a group which is not recognized by the jural system under analysis and in which property is held in severalty. Each member of the group holds certain interests and rights in property as an individual would. His rights and duties are only restricted by the fact that other individuals have rights and duties in the same piece of property. Thus, all people having individual rights to the same property constitute the group. An example of this type of group is a residential unit which has rights to a certain territory and its resources. The use of that territory is a right belonging to each member of the residential group. The defense of that property is a

duty of each member of the residential group.

The position which the Legion occupies within this grid is one which lies within both the corporate and the voluntary association realms. That is to say that the two overlap; these realms have been plotted on the basis of the various types of relationships of people to people and of people to property found within the many forms of corporate and voluntary groups in complex society. Though the Canadian Legion is represented by dot on the grid, this position is relative and may actually shift when one considers different levels of the Legion's operations - as for example, in comparing branches to the national organization.

The Legion falls within the corporate realm in the position it does based on the following data. The Legion is recognized by the jural system under which it operates and it enters into jural relationships within that system. It was granted a charter as a national corporation (without share capital) on July 17, 1926. This charter is necessary to administrate the resources held by the Legion within Canada. The property of the present-day Legion includes buildings worth over $200 million, senior citizens housing valued at over $60 million and financial resources based on the yearly dues of 520,000 members in Canada alone.

As a federal corporation (i.e. one granted charter by an act of a Federal parliament) the Legion can operate anywhere in Canada, providing it meets provincial regulations as well. Reading in the charter, it becomes apparent that the Legion operates on the assumption of perpetuity, since one of the points is as follows:

> To pass on to their families and descendants the traditions for which they (ex-servicemen) stand (Bowering 1966: 20).

The Legion possesses a fictive personality separate from those of its members, and it is in recognition of this personality that the Canadian government accepts briefs presented to it by the Legion. In the past, these briefs have been concerned with topics ranging from the conscription issue of World War Two, to the proposed changes in Canada's immigration policy. Although the Legion is a national organization it is at the provincial or local branch level that property is held. A member can only be a member of one branch at a time and has rights in the property of that branch alone, although his membership often assures him of guest privileges at other branches.

Examples of Legion operation in the larger jural realm include entering into debt. For example, fourteen branches of a major city in Western Canada entered into an agreement to pay a percentage of the cost of relocating that city's cenotaph. This percentage amounted to $52,000 and this amount will be paid by the fourteen branches without the aid of the national organization. Another example of entering into relations in the jural realm includes collecting donations from the public for charitable distribution.

The Legion is organized along hierarchical lines; at the bottom are the 1,820 branches in Canada, next are 162 zones and/or districts followed by the ten provincial commands, a national headquarters and a Dominion Executive Council, all of which take direction from national conventions held on a regular basis. Technically the power flows from the National Convention to the local branches; however, branches have

enormous autonomy and it is only when they are "wound up" (i.e. closed) that their property falls under the control of the larger organization.

The Legion falls within the realm of voluntary associations on the grid based on the following data. The recruitment to membership is on a voluntary basis, there is no physical, economic or social coercion exerted on members. In fact, the Legion estimates that there are over 600,000 ex-servicemen and women in Canada who have not joined the Legion. Commitment is based on a normative orientation to a set of values, aims and objects. Socialization of incoming members occurs at their initiation ceremony and is reinforced and expanded through social interaction within the club, and by the ritual and symbolism that is explicit in all Legion functions. This same body of ritual and symbol is utilized by the Legion to communicate and justify its value system and its demands to the wider community.

Membership expectations of interaction within branches is one of a close, near familistic order in many branches. Members are expected to visit each other when ill, attend funerals and other life-cycle occasions in the lives of fellow members and generally to support each other through the agency of the group. This is especially true of the original veteran membership. Branches are often called upon to provide aid to members in financial stress. In this aspect the Legion closely resembles mutual aid and rotating credit associations common in developing countries.

Although the association is formally organized with rather explicit roles and functions, officers and rules to govern the member-

ship, there is an explicit egalitarianism to the Legion. Members address each other in official communication as "comrade", for example. The members do not derive direct financial benefits from membership and no salary is paid to officers or council members. The relationship of the members to property is never emphasized - the organizational structure stresses the associational nature of the group as an aggregate of like-minded individuals striving to achieve specific goals in Canadian society.

Since, in my analysis of the Legion, it is the above mentioned goals of the organization and the degree of success in their achievement that concerns me, the corporate aspect of the Legion is less important in my analysis. Nevertheless, it is an important aspect of the means whereby the above goals are achieved. The analysis of such a complicated organization cannot arbitrarily dismiss a major aspect of that organization's structure and operation. The analyst must justify his selection of data, and, as Warriner and Prather (1965) have indicated, he does this through the set of interests and questions that he is pursuing.

Thus, within this thesis, the general definition of voluntary associations employed will include the following points:

1. the voluntary nature of the membership,
2. the aggregation of like-minded individuals who follow goal-oriented behavior,
3. goals, which may be of any nature, and if not identical between members, must at least be compatible (Coyle 1930),
4. the organization which is along formal, but not rigid lines, with regular functions, officers and rules to

govern the membership,

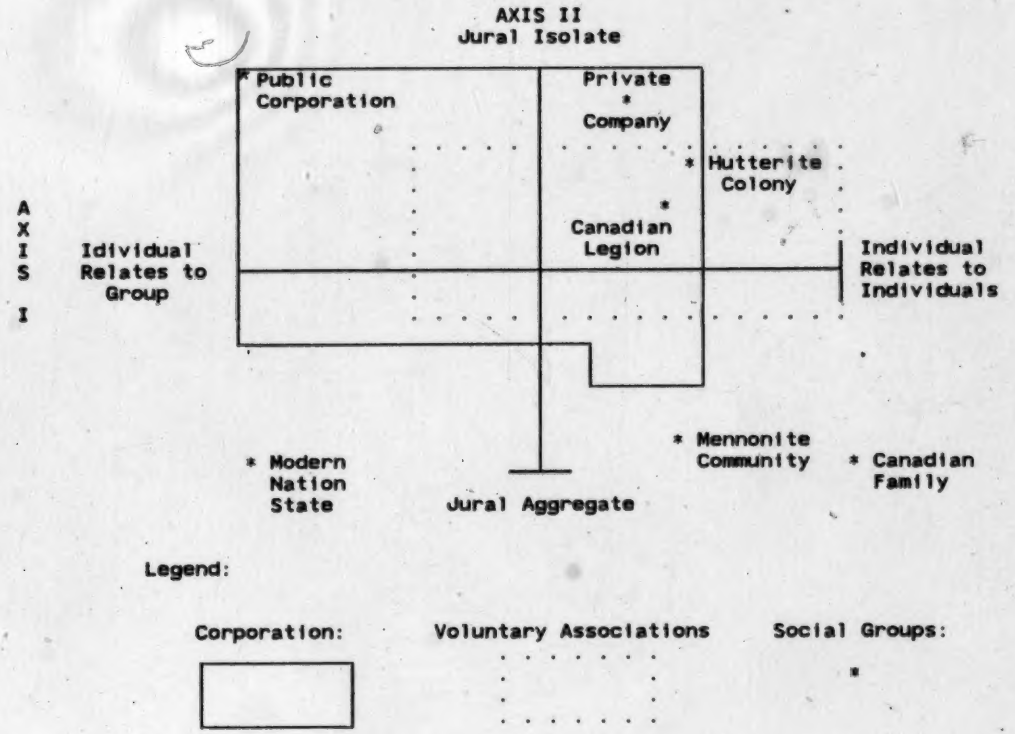
5. the lack of subsistence provided for the members,
6. and most importantly, the "power function" (Anderson 1971) or the political nature of their goals.

Those features of voluntary associations which most concern us here are the explicit and extensive use of myth, ritual and symbol which often occur in their organization and in their interaction with the wider society and which relate to the power function or political nature of their goals.

Abner Cohen (1974) has suggested that only in "non-rational" or "non-formally organized" groups does symbolism play a large role. This thesis will show that even in "rational" and "formally organized" associations, such as the Legion, myth, ritual and symbols play a predominant and significant role. An explanation for this phenomenon will be developed in this thesis but first a more detailed background will be provided on the Royal Canadian Legion to demonstrate the organization of this association, and the operation of the Legion in the wider society.

Grid #1:

The Structural and Operational Variables of Complex Social Organizations



Legend:

Corporation:

Voluntary Associations

Social Groups:

PART FOUR - INTRODUCTION TO THE SUBJECT

Historical Background:

In a book written about the Royal Canadian Legion, Clifford Bowering wrote:

> Military service in any form produces a spirit of comradeship which manifests itself in the desire of those who have served to continue their old associations after the actual service has terminated (Bowering 1960: 2).

The average member of the Legion often believes that this is the reason for the formation of the Legion, as is shown by this similar "myth" from an informant from Branch #4:

> They were a group of returned soldiers with time on their hands - it was great to get home - but after a while they knew there was something better to do than play Rummy in the coulees. A CLUB - the seed was planted: thus saw the birth of the Great War Veteran's Association....in 1919.

This Great War Veteran's Association was later to be one of the major forces behind the union of all splinter veteran's groups into the Royal Canadian Legion. However, if shared sentiments of comradeship and service were the only basis of the formation of this association, it would have less significance that it does in the study of social change. A glance through the Aims and Objects formulated at the Unity Conference in Winnipeg in 1925 provides an excellent blueprint for the Legion's projected influence on society.

These aims and objects include aside from the obvious ones of gaining national recognition of and care for the veterans and their

dependents, and "education" of the public in regards to their duties to the war dead, disabled and needy - rather large mandates for action in many spheres of national concern. For example:

> (9) to foster loyalty among the public and education in principles of patriotism, duty and public service,
>
> (10) to undertake and support training, employment and settlement of ex-servicemen and women and the education of their children.
>
> (12) to pass on to their families and descendants the traditions for which they stand,
>
> (14) to assist ex-servicemen in attaining rates of wages in accordance with their ability,
>
> (19) There shall be nothing in this constitution to prevent the association from adopting policy on any issue affecting ex-servicemen and taking any constitutional action necessary. (Bowering 1960: 19-20).

Organizers of the Legion obviously perceived themselves and other ex-servicemen as unique individuals deserving special consideration and treatment from society. Indeed, I will demonstrate later that the Legion views its members as not only unique, but as "morally superior".

This veteran's movement which developed in Post-World War One Canada, is interesting as it was one of many such movements, in many countries, which seem at first analysis to have derived their differences from the new type of war that had just been experienced. In sheer size, number of countries, people, money and technology involved, and in degree of public involvement it was an unprecedented conflict.

Battleground personnel were no longer military career-oriented

men who sought war as a vocation. Rather, they were average citizens of the countries involved and were unused to the wartime demands made upon them. In Canada, 600,000 men and women served and 60,000 of these were killed in action. More significantly, over 138,000 service personnel were wounded, between 117,000 - 137,000 of whom were discharged medically unfit (Bowering 1960: 1). At the end of the war, therefore, returning veterans were a new type of veteran, demanding new things of their respective governments by respect of their large numbers. The governments of the time were caught unprepared.

A model which is of relevance in discussing the veteran's movement of Canada is found within Clarke, Grayson and Grayson's text Prophecy and Protest: Social Movements in Twentieth-Century Canada (1975). Presented in their general introduction, the model is an attempt to place social movements in a framework to increase our understanding of their general nature. The section of the model which deals with the rise of social movements is of special interest in an analysis of the origins of the Royal Canadian Legion.

Two conditions are postulated as necessary prerequisites of any social movement: Category I - The Perception of Institutional Deficiency and Category II - Mobilization (Ibid: 7). In reference to Category I, Clarke et. al. writes:

> Our preposition says that people become discontent as a result of inconsistencies in the existing institutional structure (Ibid: 7).

There can be three causes of this discontent: first, differences

between expectations and achievements; second, relative deprivation and third, status inconsistency - in all three of these areas those veterans who survived the "Great War" perceived what they considered to be serious inconsistencies.

In the area of expectations and achievements relative to those expectations, World War One veterans came out of service and returned to civilian life with two beliefs. First, these men believed that through their actions they had created a better world and had shown through the nature of their service that the new world should be a more stable one. Secondly, they believed that they should be the beneficiaries of that new world and thus be recompensed for their experiences. They were led to these expectations by the speeches of their leaders, one of whom, Prime Minister Borden of Canada said in 1917:

> You need not fear that the Government and the Country will fail to show just appreciation of your service to the country and Empire in what you are about to do and what you have already done (Bowering 1960: 3).

Returning veterans were frustrated and angry at the rate at which these expectations were filled. Once home, and back in civilian life, they found the world changed, but not for the better. Their government's promises were stalled or unkept and their valorous service was scarce recommendation for even scarcer jobs. They perceived themselves as truly deprived compared to those who seemed to have stayed home and benefited from the war. For the wounded and disabled veterans there was the recognition that they were very obviously deprived and very little compensated. There was a very

great status inconsistency in their social positions as well. They were the returning war heros one day and the next day they were uneducated and unemployed men.

The attempt of the war veterans to correct these perceived deficiencies began with efforts to mobilize themselves and form effective organizations to gain their expected benefits. Soon after the war was over, hundreds of small single-goal veterans' groups sprang up. One veteran could feasibly belong to several groups, and often the organizations seemed to be contradicting each other in their demands. The government would not act while they could claim contradictions among the requests of the various groups. The leaders of the veterans' movement recognized very early that complete veteran unity would be required to effect the changes they sought. Veterans could only lose credibility when situations such as the Winnipeg General Strike could result in different veteran factions clashing in the streets. It was necessary for the leaders of these men to unite all ex-servicemen under a banner which would subsume their socio-economic, ethnic and political differences, and they also realized that this would not be an easy task.

Under Category II Mobilization, Clarke et al. outline three basic elements that they consider necessary for the mobilization of a social movement (1975: 18). These elements include an ideology under which potential members can be united, capable leadership and channels of communication and networks of cooperation. The ideology which the leaders of the veterans' movement devised was very "comrade" oriented as well as extremely nationalistic. The veterans were encouraged by

their leaders to perceive themselves as a class apart from the rest of the society - standing together in their observable loyalty and service in defense of Canada. Their ideology argued that this service was deserving of proper recognition. In Bowering (1960) we find a three point ideological system of "Service to the Nation" which the united veterans of Canada would, embrace:

1. Care of the war disabled, the dependent and the needy.
2. Keeping constantly alive public memory of the sacrifices of Canadians in the cause of world peace and thus to provide a deterrent to future conflicts.
3. Promotion of unity, of thought and of effort among the peoples who make up the nation; and the consequent development of a greater national consciousness (Ibid: 15).

These points can be seen to be sufficiently "bland" that they offended no one, yet at the same time, they provided a sufficiently broad platform to incorporate many forms of interest groups within them.

A leader was difficult to find who could satisfy everyone in a united veterans' organization. Former enlisted men resented the assumption made by former officers that they would naturally step into leadership roles. Regionalism and other faction-creating ties also created problems. Field-Marshall Earl Haig stepped into the symbolic role of leadership and due to a charismatic quality, a distinguished war record and a sufficient removal from the factions managed to convince the various Canadian veterans' groups that unity was necessary. His prestige and authority were increased by the fact that he had been one of the central figures in the formation of the British Legion and also in the formation of an international organization, the

British Empire Service League in 1921, of which the Canadian Legion was a member. Inside Canada, Lieutenant-General Sir Richard Turner gained power as an official deputy of Earl Haig and it is noticeable that of the groups that met at the Winnipeg conference in 1925, only two were not pursuaded to join the new endeavor.

Cooperation and channels of communication were initially formed around divisions of service, or units, and the actual military organization itself was utilized. The different single-purpose groups which had now joined the Legion, utilized their networks in advocating membership in the new organization. Often these organizations had established newsletters which were effectively used in spreading information by the leaders of the unity movement. Channels of communication were also fostered between fellow veterans in the common tell-a-friend campaign still popular among Legion members today.

The Winnipeg Unity Conference marked the beginning of a voluntary association and the end of the veterans' movement. The Clarke, Grayson and Grayson model is not applicable to our analysis past this point since they make no effort to follow movements into routinization (Wallace 1956). The Legion ceased to be a social movement and especially under the stimulus of the Second World War became institutionalized.

It was not simply through an infusion of potential new members into Canadian society that the Second World War stimulated the growth and solidification of the Legion. More importantly, this war provided a wide arena of action for the aims and objects of the Legion to find expression. During the "lean thirties" the organization had almost

folded under the pressures of veteran resentment over Depression conditions. The Legion's problems were compounded by the fact that they needed to walk a fine line between pressing for veterans' rights and not requiring that the government ruin its shaky finances. The government, on the other hand, seemed to be trying to reduce the Legion's influence in pension administration. By June 1935, the Hyndman Commission - a group formed to study the unemployment situation in Canada, found 38,000 veterans with overseas service without work (Bowering 1960: 77). This commission was established after the Legion presented a brief to the government on their own study of the situation which called for action on the part of the government. The unemployed veterans castigated the Legion for what they saw as ineffectiveness in gaining relief measures for their dependents and for themselves. Some veterans felt that presenting briefs to the government was a waste of time and that the Legion should work closely with organized labour instead. Other veterans were afraid of backlashes against "Bolshevists" affecting the Legion if they were to cooperate with militant labour leaders (Masters 1950).

These men could not be convinced that the Legion's policy was bearing fruit for all veterans. This policy was twofold, first to stress the patriotism of the veterans, and second, to press for the fulfillment of the moral obligations owing them. The Legion had managed to convince the Hyndman Commission that:

> ...the unemployed veteran was in a position entirely distinct from that of the rest of the community and that special remedial measures should be devised to meet his case (quoted in Bowering 1960: 79).

A great deal of valuable policy, from the veteran's perspective was to come out of the recommendations of this commission. For example, the government implemented a scheme whereby at least fifteen percent of the civil service was to be made up of unemployed veterans. Further, the government established a Veterans' Association Commission whose job it was to make sure that unemployed veterans were charges of the Federal Government and not the municipalities. Corps of Commissionaires were established in major cities, their ranks being made up of unemployed veterans. Many of my informants were beneficiaries of these schemes.

For many veterans suffering under Depression conditions, however, change was coming too slowly. The conditions under which the Legion operated in the 1930's forced the organization to reorganize and consolidate. Nevertheless, the achievements of the association over the Depression years were remarkable. They succeeded in gaining government recognition of a responsibility for the veteran and they also achieved a reorganization of the Veterans' Allowance Act. The unemployment issue may have been the nemesis of the Legion despite these advances, however, if it had not been for the advent of the Second World War.

The first advantage of the Second World War for the expansion of the Legion and the enhancement of its prestige was that it provided the Legion and the government with an avenue for cooperaton. Though there was later to be a falling out over the conscription issue, early cooperation between the Legion and the government did much to heal the bitter breach which had developed over issues of the pre-war

Depression. While this early cooperation mainly took the form of Legion surveys of "fit" veterans for home guard service and the formation of reserve corps, most of the Legion's energy over the later war years was spent on the Canadian Legion War Services, Inc. As Bowering point outs:

> Solider's needs were psychological as well as physical and if met would make for easier rehabilitation to civilian life (1960: 124).

The above organization attempted to provide for the need of overseas servicemen through the provision of educational opportunities, personal services, recreation, entertainment and sports. The emphasis of this group was on preparation for demobilization through educational training. No one wanted a reenactment of the 1918 fiasco. Because of the efforts of the Canadian Legion, matriculation and university level degrees were obtainable in the service, both at home, overseas and even in some cases, in Prisoner of War Camps.

The cost of this educational effort was born by the Legion. By the end of the war, the Canadian Legion War Services, Inc. would turn over $1,143,395 to the government to be held in trust as a Canteen fund (Bowering 1960: 134). Technical and vocational types of training were stressed, but the Legion also advocated the humanities as "morale building". As Bowering points out (Ibid: 147-148), the importance and contribution of the Canadian Legion's Educational Services can only be guessed at. It is known, however, that during the war the C.L.E.S. published and distributed over two million text-books and registered men and women in correspondence courses at the

rate of 3,500 a month in Canada and 1,500 a month overseas. They also offered over 8,000 university courses and enrolled over 200,000 men in over 11,000 classes of all grades. During the course of my field work I met mechanics, engineers and officers in the Royal Canadian Mounted Police who received their training under the C.L.E.S. It is interesting that these services are still available to ex-servicemen through the Department of Veterans' Affairs.

The C.L.E.S. was just one aspect of the Legion's program for post-war rehabilitation. The Legion realized that in the past, governments had concentrated on winning the war without regard for post-war planning. Under pressure from the Legion, the Canadian government moved to avoid this lack of foresight through the establishment of a House of Commons Committee on Pensions and Rehabilitation. The Legion wasted no time in submitting proposals to this group and in these briefs they argued that it was "...nothing less than a moral right...that a man who has served his country shall...be re-established in society" (quoted in Bowering 1960: 154; emphasis mine). The government followed many of the Legion's proposals and the Legion was able to work closely with the government in the implementation of the Civil Reinstatement Act, the Post-Discharge Re-establishment Order and the Veteran's Land Act (Bowering 1960: 159). The largest concern was that the Canadian economy should not suffer a major dislocation at the end of the war.

It was during the war years that the Canadian Legion lobbied and succeeded in gaining one ministry to handle all veterans' concerns. This ministry, the Department of Veterans' Affairs (DVA) would unite

all aspects of veterans' concerns that had formerly been handled as secondary interests of several ministeries. The Department of Mines and Resources, for example, was responsible for handling all soldier settlement plans. The formation of the DVA was one of the many Legion achievements which benefited soldiers returning from the Second World War. As Bowering points out:

> ...for the "young" veteran such things as gratuities, clothing allowance, pensions, medical treatment, preference in the civil service, vocational training, land settlement and education came to him almost as a matter of course (Ibid: 167).

In reality, the Legion had fought long and hard to gain these achievements over the war years. Because of their tenacity, the veteran of the Second World War could delay his demobilization until he was trained for an occupation in civilian life. He would be paid a certain amount for each day he was in the service and he would also receive a clothing allowance on discharge. His previous employer was required to re-hire him to any pre-war job that he may have held, or he could apply for ex-servicemen jobs in the civil service. There were housing and land settlement schemes which made it easy for him to establish his family in a home or on land of their own. Disablement entitled him to medical services and a pension, as well as an education for his dependents. Further, all these schemes were more efficient in their planning and implementation than were those plans which had been hastily made for the Great War veteran.

The Legion's post-war task has been one of evaluation and of an ombudsmanlike championship of legislation pertaining to veterans.

They have made many suggestions for amendments, improvements and/or new legislation, as well as aiding individual veterans gain the most benefit from existing legislation. This has not always been easy and it has not always made the Legion popular with some governments. An example of Legion/Government interaction over veteran issues is the 1951 battle for pension increases (see Bowering 1960: 171-172). This fight, in the face of Canadian involvement in the Korean war, is interesting in that it was phrased in MORAL terms. The Legion stressed that they were not asking for charity for veterans, but rather, were asking for their moral rights, an obligation which was legitimate and which the government was trying to shirk.

The government initially suggested a means test for those veterans who could prove the need for an increase in their benefits. This angered the Legion since pensions had only been on par with basic unskilled labour salaries once - in 1919. Legion editorials argued:

> We must recognize that adequate pensions for the disabled are as much the price of defense as the cost of steel or aluminum and that there is no greater moral obligation resting on the Government of Canada (qouted in Bowering 1960: 172).

The Toronto Globe and Mail noted:

> It is surprising that a Government which just last fall intervened in a strike to fix a minimum wage increase by statute on the grounds that higher prices made an increase necessary, should have to be bullied on this point. The workers of the nation are not its direct responsibility. The veterans are. (quoted in Bowering 1960: 197; emphasis mine).

Finally, on November 15, 1951, after the government had met with

Legion representatives and found them unyielding, the government announced a thirty-three and a third percent increase of all pensions. This was exactly the amount recommended by the Legion. Bowering argues that these changes finally proved that: "...the Legion was the voice of the veteran on Parliament Hill" (Ibid: 182). Since that time the Legion has also sought to be a voice on Parliament Hill on many topics not directly affecting veterans.

These topics, however, could affect the nature of Canadian society and the Legion insists on the right to express its concerns. It therefore, presented briefs on topics as divergent as the proposed changes to the Immigration Act and the Quebec Separatist issue. Resentment of non-Legion people towards Legion interference in national affairs has also emerged as a result of the Legion's stand on this right to be heard on Parliament Hill. One member of a citizen's group concerned over the Canada Unity issue told me:

> Members of the Legion are not the only patriotic people in Canada you know! The rest of us have a right to speak out on these issues as well.

This resentment springs from the fact that many Legion viewpoints are viewed as conservative and even right-wing. Nevertheless, the Legion does feel that it has a unique position in the political life of Canada. It replies to the above type of criticisms in the following way:

> (Legion members) are in their own right and as surrogate for those who died, responsible to ensure that this nation remains a single nation. (The ACTION Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 5).

In fact, the Legion's publications on the Canadian Unity issue were very moderate in tone and advocated consitutional reform rather than repressing the legitimate complaints of the Quebec people.

In conclusion, the Legion of today is still growing and still evolving. From its origins as an "event-oriented" interest group, this organization has grown to a multi-national "ideology-oriented" corporate group. With a membership now exceeding a quarter of a million people, the Legion has one thousand eight hundred and twenty branches in Canada and seventy-one branches (or "posts") in the United States. Through these branches over one and a half million dollars is pumped into community affairs in this country. This money funds youth programs, aid to the handicapped, senior citizen housing and sports and recreation programs. These varied concerns are supported through a liberal interpretation of the Legion's original aims and objects. The Legion has managed to pursue many interests and develop an organizational form necessary to do so without altering in any fundamental way the original constitution of 1925. Next we will examine the organizational form whereby it has managed to do this.

The Organization:

There are two articles in the original aims and objects of the Legion which outline plans requiring the organization of a formal association:

(16) To raise and coordinate funds for assisting those (aims) mentioned above;

(17) To acquire and hold such property in the nature of clubrooms, office and equipment and material as may be

> necessary for the administration of the Legion and its authorized branches in pursuit of its aims and objects (Bowering 1960: 20).

In pursuit of these aims, the Legion has become a multi-million dollar industry with clubrooms, credit unions, retirement housing, lounges and pubs operating all across the country. The corporate assets of the national organization are impressive, as are the holdings of the individual branches. To govern the operation of the Legion business concern, a complex set of roles and committees has evolved which according to Cohen's (1974) typological criteria would make the Legion a rational-legal association. To categorize it as such, however, is to ignore the many traditional goals and the ritual, symbols and mythology which are integral parts of Legion operation. However, an understanding of the formal properties of Legion operation will aid in understanding the other above aspects of Legion functioning.

Membership:

The present Legion charter allows for several types of membership. In general, however, these membership types break down into three broad categories. These categories include those with no voting privileges, those with limited voting privileges and those with full voting privileges. Since voting occurs at several levels - in the individual branches, the provincial caucuses and the national organizational level - the voting privileges concerned can include national policy or local branch politics. Only men who are Canadian or Commonwealth citizens and who have served in any branch of the Commonwealth service forces (without dishonorable discharge) or who

have served more than three months in a militia, the regular forces or in a Canadian police force can have full voting privileges. There is no regulation to prevent women who served in any of these forces from joining the Legion on the "men's side", but until recently, most of these women chose to join the Ladies Auxillary. It is these men, therefore, who direct the national policy of the Legion as well as the policy of most branches in their local areas.

As well as having full voting stature, these men and women are entitled to all the rights and privileges of ordinary membership. They have certain rights in the property of the local branch to which they belong and they can hold any office if they are so elected within the organization. The wives of these men, if they did not serve in any of the above forces themselves, may join the Ladies Auxillary which has a structural organization separate from but subject to that of the Legion itself. These women do not necessarily depend on a military service identification number to join as the men do, but may join on the sponsorship of two females in "good standing". Their voting is restricted to the concerns of the Ladies Auxillary.

The sons and daughters of service men, however, do require their father's (or mother's) service number to join. A grandparent (or other close relative) may also sponsor a relative with their service number. People wishing to join but having no suitable relative to sponsor them, can still be admitted in some branches through the sponsorship of two members in good standing. This "class" of members - those who have no military number of their own - are known as associate members and their voting and use of facility privileges do

not extend beyond the branch level in most cases. Often they may not hold office, even at the branch level, and in some branches they still do not have any voting privileges. This is now changing under pressure from a largely associate membership which is demanding a voice in Legion affairs. The variability in branch membership regulations is the result of the considerable autonomy granted branches in the creation of their own rules and regulations - that is so long as they do not contradict the national rules and regulations.

Offices, Roles and Formal Organization:

As with all corporate structures, the efficient operation of the Legion required the development of a set of offices, duties and bylaws through which the work of the organization was to be accomplished. Each branch rests final authority in an elected Executive Council which usually consists of the Immediate Past President, a President, a First Vice-President, a Second Vice-President, a Sargeant-at-Arms and eight elected members to the council. Aside from the Executive Council, a Board of Trustees, composed of three elected members, is responsible for advice and recommendations on all financial matters. Standing between these offices and the general membership is the manager who is also the branch treasurer. It is the Executive Council's responsibility to create sub-committees to ensure the smooth operation of the branch.

These committees often include a House Committee to facilitate use of the club facilities, entertainment, sports, membership drive, and poppy drive committees and a Remembrance Day committee to be

responsible for the organization of the civic and branch services on that occasion. Each of these committees is responsible to the Executive Council, which in turn is responsible to the voting membership. The national organization has a similar "chain of command". Supreme authority rests with the national conventions of voting membership which meet once every two years. The Dominion Executive Council is responsible for setting policy recommended at the National Conventions and for administration of the National Headquarters. This council is comprised of members from each of the ten Canadian Provincial Commands and from the five United States Commands. Between the Provincial Commands and the branches there are zones and/or districts with officers drawn from the branches within their juristiction and responsible to the Provincial Commands. Though each branch has a great deal of autonomy, any matter having national or international relevance or being of concern to the entire association is subject to this chain of command for authorization. (See organization chart, Page 64).

All of the elected officers of the Legion fill roles defined by a set of rules and regulations which are set down in the General By-Laws of the Royal Canadian Legion. This publication outlines explicitly the regulations for the establishment, operation andd folding up of the branches or commands of the organization. These regulations explicitly prevent any member of the Legion executive from benefiting financially from his position. Election for officers are held yearly at the branch, zone and district level, while Provincial and Dominion Command elections are held biannually. Strict regulations are also

outlined for the use and holding of property, for the development of fiscal resources and for the allocation of membership fees and dues. These rules also allow for the formation of ladies and junior auxillaries which while having their own officers and by-laws are at the same time subject to the authority of the branch or command where they are formed. Complementing these by-laws of the national organization are more detailed by-laws drawn up by the branches and Provincial Commands to regulate membership, development, control and use of finances, dress regulations and house rules. A per capita tax on dues paid by members supports the operation of Provincial and Dominion Commands. These dues entirely support this non-profit organization; it draws no support from outside agencies.

Thus it can be seen that the formal properties of the Legion parallel very closely those specified as common to rational-legal associations (Tomeh 1973, Cohen 1974). However, for a rational institution based on legal notions of contract and corporation, the Legion has an extremely rich and fluid ritualistic aspect to its organization as well.

Ritual:

The new initiate into the Royal Canadian Legion may have gained his first perception of Legion activities during certain ritualized ceremonial occasions within his local area, town, city or community. During the annual summer festivities found in most Canadian towns and cities, parades occur which often include in their procession a Highland marching band complete with drums, bagpipes and kilts. The

Legion symbol (the maple leaf surrounded by the Legion motto: MEMORIAM * EORUM * RETINERIMUS with the poppy below and the St. Edwards Crown above) is often sported on the big brass drum or on a banner - and this proclaims Legion sponsorship of the musicians in these bands.

Similarily, the new initiate might have attended local civic ceremonies on November 11th, Remembrance Day, as a child. He may have attended morning services sponsored by the local Legion and other service clubs, and he may have watched the commemorative parade of veterans and attended cenotaph services. There, he might have observed Legion representatives laying wreaths or giving speeches in honor of the war dead. But more than likely, these things being a part of his growing-up experience, he would find them unremarkable and scant reason to pursue membership in the Legion.

More likely, the prospective new member of the Legion first came into contact with this organization by visiting the clubroom with parents or friends who were members. He may have enjoyed the dances, the lower cost of alcohol in the pub or lounge or the darts, shuffleboard or billiards in the games room. He may have been a member of some other organization which received funding from the Legion - the Big Brother's Association, Little League Baseball or Soccer, and became curious about the Legion and its community work. In any case, whatever his reasons, he decides to join.

The first step is to obtain an application form. If the initiate is female she must decide between membership in the Ladies Auxillary or as an Associate Member (a choice which only recently became a

practical alternative). Men have only the option of Associate Membership open to them unless they have served in some armed force. Upon obtaining the proper application form, the applicant learns that he/she must provide information on the service record of some member of their stem family - most often a parent. This information includes date of enlistment, service number, date of discharge and service unit - plus whether the service was in wartime, regular forces, allied forces, militia or reserve forces. On this same application is an oath which must be signed guaranteeing that the applicant is not a member of any "group, party or sect whose interests conflict with the avowed purposes of the Legion" and also that the applicant is not a "Communist, Fascist or anarchist" and does not support the overthrow of the government by force.

Once the initiate has signed and submitted this application, and paid the membership fees, he soon receives a letter inviting him to attend a General Meeting and Supper where he and several others will be initiated. Many, since they receive their membership card soon after or before this do not bother to attend their initiation services. Thus, they do not acquire the detailed knowledge of the meaning of the symbols they will frequently see in their contact with the Legion. A detailed description and analysis of a Legion initiation will be outlined in Chapter Three.

The booklet of ritual and procedure for Legion ceremonies lists several emblems which must be explained to initiates. These include the national flag of Canada, the Royal Union Flag, the Blood Red Poppy, the Torch and the Legion Badge. Symbolic components of most

Legion ceremonies which are not explained here include the bagpipes, the symbolic uniform of the Legionaire, cenotaph monuments, wreaths, portraits of the reigning monarchy of the British Empire, the Legion banner, certain ritualistic or mythological poems, music (such as the Last Post), songs or silent pauses, prayers and oaths. It also leaves unexplained certain stylized or ritualistic roles or statuses common to these ceremonies, most of them obviously of military extraction and including Sargeant-at-Arms, Color Party (those who carry and install the flags), chaplain and one which will be discussed extensively in Chapter Three entitled "representative of the motherhood of Canada bereaved by war". While some ritual knowledge is obtained during the initiation ceremony most is absorbed during the regular attendance at Legion functions or ceremonies at the branch where one is a member.

Before the analytical model is presented, it is necessary to provide some background information on the branch where the majority of my field work was carried out. This is the branch where I became familiar with Legion ritual, and as was mentioned earlier, since branches have a large degree of autonomy, this branch is the one most applicable to the discussion in this thesis. This autonomy and variability contributes to the viability of the Legion - but it also makes generalizations based on one branch somewhat suspect. For this reason, I obtained data from Dominion Command sources as well as from several other branches in Western Canada, especially one branch in a much larger city than that branch where most of my research was carried out. Thus I was able to compare a large urban branch to a smaller branch in a medium-sized Western Canadian city.

The General Stewart Branch:

Organization of the General Stewart Branch began in January 1918 with thirty-five members. At that time it was a member of the Great War Veterans Association. The first meeting was held in the Land Titles Office Building, and later this same building was granted to the G.W.V.A. by King Edward VIII on the stipulation that the building be used for veterans' affairs and a meeting hall. Following the unity campaign, the branch became part of the new Canadian Legion with two hundred and fifty members in 1925. In 1949 the branch had grown to one thousand members and by January 1980, membership stood at over three thousand members.

In 1976 the city began a downtown re-development program, and since the Legion branch building had reverted to the city after World War Two, the branch was required to relocate. This relocation process occurred during the period of my field work and was revealing in terms of changing orientations and branch politics. By September 1977, the branch had provided itself with a new building at a cost of $1,025,000. This provided the branch with 17,000 square feet including dining room, auditorium, lounge, canteen, boardroom, offices and a larger foyer with display area. By January 1980 the building was valued at two and a half million dollars. The original building had been a three storey structure with several extensions added on over the years. It was an old building, a fire hazard as well as expensive to maintain. However, not everyone was happy to have it replaced. The move has cost this branch much in terms of membership consensus and contentment.

The branch is known as the General Stewart Branch after a local man who was a Brigadier-General in the Canadian Army. He served in the Boer War and rose to officer during the First World War. He was a Member of the Legislative Assembly of his province and served in the House of Commons. Memorabilia of his career were donated to this branch by his widow and are on display in the foyer of the new building. Few of the other military decorations from the old building were transfered over to the new, however. Pictures stressing regional themes of Canadian lifestyle have replaced those scenes of major battles or portraits of war-time leaders. These changes were not made without notice, however, and many older veterans became resentful over their branch facelift.

As with the national organization, community work has become the cornerstone of the branch's operation. Members of the executive continue to stress that veterans' concerns receive first priority, but the branch must also attract new members to remain viable. Its work in the community and its need to attract new members, has resulted in the branch having to sacrifice some of its unique military characteristics. While some of the changes have since been moderated at the request of some long-standing members, the management has generally managed this reorientation through the move to its new location. This has not been achieved without a struggle and the loss of some members who refuse to acknowledge the need for change.

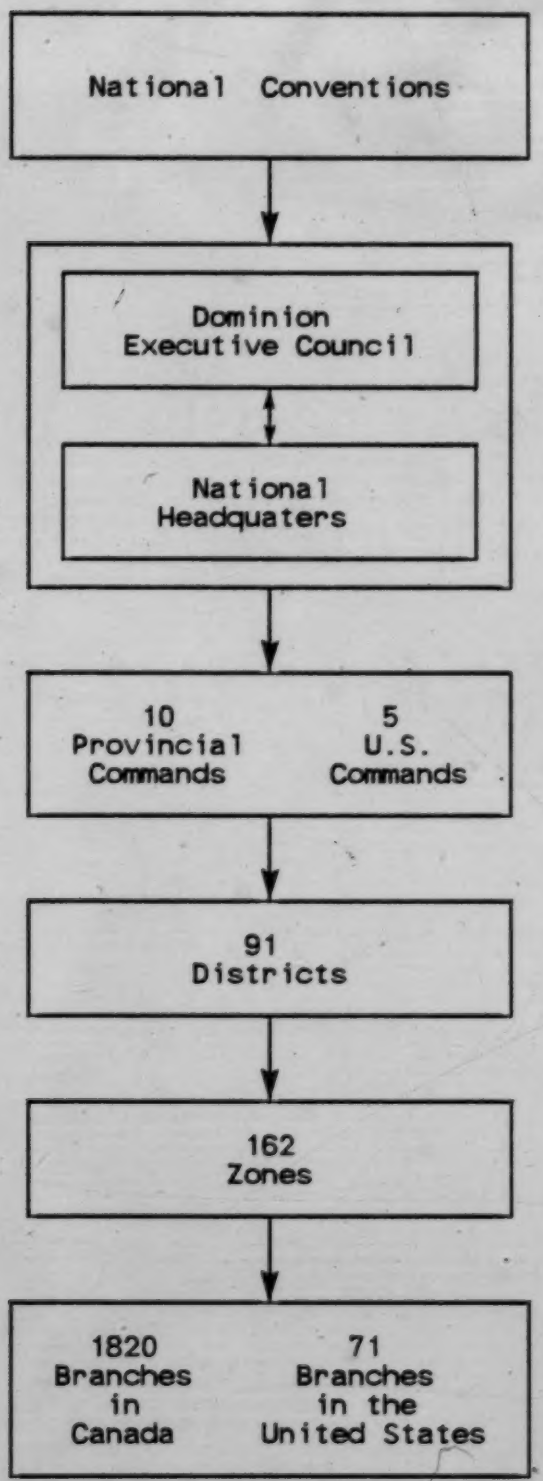
Summary:

This thesis asks: "What is the true nature of voluntary

associations?" It seeks to understand their dynamic nature and the mechanisms by which they relate to social change and stability. It has defined them as political mechanisms which utilize myth, ritual and symbol as well as rational-legal organization to achieve their goals. Thus, it recognizes the duality of the structure of the voluntary association, but it seeks deeper for the mechanisms by which this duality is made dynamic. The example employed in this research will be the Royal Canadian Legion which is a voluntary-association-cum-corporation which has successfully operated within Canadian society since 1925.

Diagram #1:

Organization of the Royal Canadian Legion



CHAPTER TWO - THEORETICAL ISSUES

Chapter Two is composed of three parts which address the theoretical orientation of this thesis. In Part One, the models of social change currently in use in Anthropology and Sociology are examined and some alternatives are discussed. In Part Two, the model employed in this thesis is outlined and in Part Three the mechanism by which this model achieves a dynamic nature is discussed. This dynamism is necessary if the model is to approximate the complex reality of the operation of voluntary associations in human society.

PART ONE - SOCIAL CHANGE: NORMATIVE MODELS AND POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES

The method of analysis employed in this thesis asks several basic theoretical questions, among them: What operational features, common to all voluntary associations, allows them to perform the aforementioned roles within society? What forms of social change are actually achieved through the employment of voluntary associations? What role does the individual play in this process? What role is the individual allowed in most theories of social change? The problems faced in attempting to answer these questions are many. The most important of these problems has been the lack of what might be called "micro-theories" of social change. Voluntary associations have been linked with a phenomenon which is not well understood in the Social

Sciences. The most common problem in many models of social change is the quality of determinism in their approach to the role of the individual. This chapter seeks to examine the theoretical problems inherent in many models of social change and will outline the approach employed in this thesis which seeks to avoid determinism by recognizing the role of the individual in social change.

It has been commented that the study of social change has been marked by periods of "grandiosity" and by periods of "theoretical timidity" (Neal 1965: viii). The Social Sciences have been affected by the periods of grandiosity and until recently, explanations of social change were often couched in the terms of one of several "macro-theories" (Schneider 1976: vii). Examples of such theories include the social evolution model of Morgan and Spencer, the cyclical change theories of Pareto and Sorokin and the historical materialism of Marx. In Anthropology, the macro-theories have been an important source of explanations of social change and despite the fact that these theories were devised to explain sweeping changes occurring on a grand scale, they have often been stretched to cover many other situations. The study of voluntary associations is one example of this stretching process. For example, Kenneth Little's (1966) study of voluntary associations in West Africa was explicitly designed to prove the relevance of the evolutionary approach in Anthropological social theory.

Similarily, Michael Banton (1968: 358) in discussing voluntary associations, wrote that the theoretical value of their analysis lay in what they could reveal about social evolution. This evolutionary

model of social change is widely used in Anthropology, and less explicitly in Sociology, in the analysis of voluntary associations. It is felt that what is missing in the aforementioned models is an explicit theory of society which makes the perceived roles of voluntary associations in society possible, and a theory of social change which makes voluntary associations relevant to the individual. The reason for this lack may lie in the assumptions inherent in the models of social change.

In addition to the macro-theory nature of the models on social change, the strong trend towards determinism places the individual like a bobbing cork in the wave of social change (Etzioni and Etzioni 1964: 5). This deterministic position is often complemented and reinforced by the perception that:

> Change refers to a difference in a structure, the difference occurring over time and being initiated by factors outside that structure (Swanson 1971: 3).

As long as change is perceived as having its origins in forces external to the system, then the role of the individual actor within the system as a force in social change is precluded. This thesis does not argue that change through external factors never occurs, but rather argues that this can not always be assumed to be the only source of change or the only factor in the direction change takes.

This discussion is an attempt to suggest viable alternatives for these macro-theories in the analysis of the role which voluntary associations play in social change. It is an explicit attempt to utilize other approaches to the study of social change by focusing on

a different level of analysis. The goal of this discussion is to develop a theory of society and social change which encompasses an understanding of the inter-relationship and the interaction of ideas and action in social behavior such that social change which originates within the social system is related to individual action and motivations. Fortunately, recent trends in the Social Sciences have been reflecting a move away from the above deterministic positions and towards a re-definition of the basic problem of social process (see, for example, Murphy 1971, passim).

Recent analysts of change theory have returned to the work of certain "classical" theorists who stressed conflicts inherent within a system as the primary source of social change. One of the most commonly refered to of these conflicts is that said to exist between the members of different classes or interest groups. Other theorists have been re-examined for their work on the position of the individual in the social process such as Durkheim and Weber (Warner 1978). However, those theorists viewing social change as arising within society itself are divided into "idealistic" and "materialistic" camps and this presents a basic problem in attempting to bridge this gap and assert, as Weber did, that sources of change are never totally economic or totally cultural (Etzioni and Etzioni 1964: 7).

Another problem arises from the fact that a theory of change must encompass a theory of society. Since a theory of society must take into account "static structures" as well as "dynamic process" most sociological research has been content to either examine static form at one point in time or to examine process at several different points

in time (Etzioni and Etzioni 1964: 76). This impasse has been one of the major problems in creating a holistic theory of social change, that is, a theory that encompasses static structure and dynamic process. Nevertheless, most "classical" thinkers about social change have struggled with many of the problems which still plague their counterparts today. If the "classical" theorists created models which seemed to have a forced unity, there is still much that can be learned from their earlier attempts to deal with problems such as the human element in social change, the relationship between ideas and action, defining when significant change is occurring and identifying the sources of social change. However, there is little consensus on how any of the "classical" social scientists (i.e. Marx, Weber, Durkheim) resolved the above problems (see, for example, the debate between Warner, Pope and Cohen and Parsons 1978).

Basically, the problem seems to revolve around one issue which Sister Augusta Neal (1965: viii) addressed when asking: "...should integrative values or conflict-producing interests be emphasized in constructing a theory of social change?" She (unlike Warner and Parsons) contrasts Weber and Marx on this issue, and notes that sociologists have tended to take sides by aligning with Marx or Weber:

> They tend either to treat values as did Marx, that is, as important class-determined phenomena adhered to by the group profiting from them and generating them, or else to treat them (as Weber did) as part of the institutionalized culture which sets limits on choices of social forms to carry out functional needs of social systems (Ibid: 3).

She then goes on to argue that "stable personalities" acting within a

society do the same thing, that is, take "sides". Her assumption is that an actor with stable personality characteristics will consistently make choices for either values or interests - for or against change. She defines values as: "...widely shared conceptions of the good", while interests are: "...desires for special advantages for the self or for groups with which one is identified" (Ibid: 9). Her main concern is with the actor and she asks: "Is his main intention to realize an ideal or to service a group?" (Ibid: 9). Unfortunately, this is a drastic oversimplification of the issues.

The issue as Warner (1978) has pointed out, is over the role of cognition in society. He writes:

> ...we recognize that an actor can be "self-interested" and also at the same time "oriented to norms" and that an actor's orientation (to norms as well as to other aspects of the situation) is composed of variable interpretive as well as motivational elements, where what actors "want" and "see" are conditioned alike by social structured normative and cognitive systems... (Warner 1978: 1318-1319).

In discussing an actor's "orientation to norms", Warner is assuming that norms exist somewhere external to the actor's cognitive system and somehow influence him in his behavior. This, of course, is a problematic assumption. Warner further asserts that many of our problems in understanding the role of norms in social interaction - and consequently in social change - are a result of a preoccupation with the Hobbesian question of social order (Ibid: 1322).

Warner, like Murphy (1971) points out that those who follow Durkheim and Parsons in assuming that individualism is naturally

disintegrative and must be counter-balanced by the internalization of "social, structured normative elements", lead themselves into a blind alley. Anthropology has discovered the cost of theories overemphasizing the role of normative ideas in the action of individuals. As Murphy notes, recent attempts to get out of the "oversocialized individual actor" model and still remain within an organic structuralist theory, has produced some extreme theories of social change - Gluckman's "Big Bang" transformation theory, for example. On the other hand, Stokes and Hewitt (1976) have pointed out that if we abandon the concept of norms, it becomes difficult to explain cultural continuity and alignment of individual actions into group behavior. The alternative is to follow Simmel and ask how men, who are predisposed to cooperation actually construct a world in common (Warner 1978: 1324). The question thus changes from one of voluntarily accepting the means for social control to one of communication. This thesis will argue that communication is the issue at stake in the "alignment of social action" and will suggest means by which the alignment is achieved.

Murphy (1971) has suggested those means in his book, The Dialectics of Social Life. He notes that the relationship between ideas and action, especially individualistic ideas and social action, has always been problematic in the Social Sciences. Murphy asserts that central to any explanation of social life is the basic contradiction between ideas and action (Ibid: 188). Norms, which can be defined as crystallizations of statistically regular behavior and which are ideas about behavior, are cognitive and motivational, but

mostly cognitive (Ibid: 218). They are derived from the interplay of activity and consciousness. In the synthesis of mind and action known as culture, Murphy argues:

> ...the very relation between norm and action is contradictory both in form and content (Ibid: 241).

This contradiction springs from the fact that norms are formally specific and diffuse in content, while activity is formally diffuse and specific in content. He writes:

> Activity is sequential in time, continuous, multi-faceted and nonrepetitive; norms are timeless, discontinuous, repetitive and one-dimensional. Norms and activity seldom meet, and there must always be strain between them (Ibid: 242).

This is a contradiction basic to social life.

But this contradiction does not destroy the fabric of social life since there are mediators of the contradiction which allow members of a society to impose a cognitive order on the chaotic social universe. Some actions are specific in both form and content (ritual and etiquette) and some norms are diffuse in both form and content (the concept of the sacred) (Ibid: 242). Murphy argues that this is the final negation of the Durkeimian position since ritual and the sacred are not the expressed solidarity of the social group, but are rather the bridge between norm and action which mediates the alienation of man from his fellow man (Ibid: 243). Thus, Murphy argues that social change arises from contradictions inherent in the social system - like Marx and Weber - but he argues for a more basic level to these

contradictions that either of these two supposedly would have held. He is supported in this assessment by analysts such as Geertz (1973).

It is interesting that Geertz also focused on ritual as a focal point in social interaction. Murphy has suggested that changes in ritual herald changes in the entire system. Geertz may argue for a reversal of this process, i.e. that changes in ritual will follow changes in the wider social system. In either case, this is a different interpretation of ritual than has been common in the Social Sciences. Ritual has commonly been analysed as static, traditional behavior closely allied with the normative system. If it is the point where people construct a world in common, as Geertz and Murphy have suggested, then it is also the point where people with different perceptions of the world will negotiate with each other to arrive at some common agreement.

This conclusion is supported by the work of Roland Barthes (1957). Ritual, etiquette and myth may be the social action which generates both continuity and change. Action which is significant for social change may be in that realm of sacred action which Leach (1954) has called "modes of argument". Barthes (1957: 126-7), has pointed out that myth - which is motivated by a specific interest group's interpretation of history, is one such way of arguing over rights and status - and changes in rights and status of different groups within the society can result in a change in <u>status quo</u> over time. Thus, social change at the level discussed in this paper, is motivated by "interests" and the parties which hold these interests can further their end goals by arguing about structural relationships, powers,

rights, or obligations in the sacred mode of discourse. To understand how this may be the case, it is necessary to view social change and social continuity as different sides of the same coin. The sacred mode of discourse can be used to reinforce the status quo over time or it can justify a change advocated by a group which opposes or seeks to alter the status quo. By this method change can occur quite quickly, especially with advanced techniques of communication which allow ideas to spread over large distances in short periods of time. Change can also occur without violence, and often without major dislocation to the social system.

Change occurs at three levels within society; at the level of the individual, at the level of particular groups and at the level of the whole society. Furthermore, change at any one of these levels can have ramifications in the other two levels. The analysis in this thesis focuses on the second level, or the level of organized groups. My unit of analysis is not individuals but groups of individuals. Nevertheless, in an effort to understand the ability of a society to tolerate numbers of such groups, the theoretical orientation of this thesis must recognize the importance of individuals, their similarities and differences and their ability to negotiate across various boundaries as individuals, or as members of a group. This constant awareness of the operation of individual cognition in the actions of a group preclude deterministic arguments at the same time that this awareness provides an explanation for the dynamic nature of voluntary associations. The "actor" in this analysis is an association - nevertheless, the question remains the same: "How does

a group communicate with other individuals, groups or with the society at large in order to build a world in common?"

As will be discussed more extensively in Part Three of this chapter, Barthes has shown the process whereby these groups can communicate their beliefs through myth. Myth is motivated and historical and it takes a point of view and "naturalizes it" (Barthes 1957: 129). Barthes asserts that through the elaboration of a second-order semiological system and the creation of a meta-language, myth transforms history into "nature". In Murphy's terms, the sacred mediation between ideas and action allows the individual actor to pursue a course of action which can be cognitively viewed as both conforming to norms and at the same time furthering one's own interests. In simple terms, through the construction of myth, the interests of a specific individual or group become the norms of the larger social group.

PART TWO - THE MODEL: THE SACRED AND SECULAR DUALITY

The model resulting from this research hinges on two important facts discussed in Part One of this chapter; first, that man is an animal that acts and second, that man is an animal that thinks - and thinks especially about his actions. Thus, in explaining events in the social world, primacy cannot be given to either action or ideas; any theory of man's behavior must take into account both ideas and action and must come to grips with the relationship between the two. Further, this model attempts to explain the fact that most voluntary

associations seem to operate within society on two discernable levels. For want of better terminology, these have been called the secular level and the sacred level. These two levels are often intimately interrelated and only for the purpose of analysis can they be seen as separate entities. The secular level is concerned with pragmatic organization of day-to-day activities and the ideology of values and norms which informs that behavior. The sacred level is the level of symbolic and ritual behavior and the ideology that informs that behavior (see Model Chart, page 86).

The model, therefore, is a four part model based on the duality of action and thought and the duality of the sacred and the secular. Each level of analysis, both the secular aspect of the operation of voluntary associations and the sacred aspect of those operations is objectified in idea and action. One of the goals of this thesis will be to explain the relationship between the sacred and the secular and the dynamic quality of that relationship that provides the possibility for change in human society. Further, this thesis will focus on one specific aspect of that relationship which has more importance for the political nature of voluntary associations in particular - and sacred modes of discourse in general. That aspect is the process whereby the pragmatic needs of daily life become imbued with sacred necessity for their practitioners. We shall return to this point after an explanation of the model in use.

The Sacred:

The sacred/secular distinction made here is not to be confused with Emile Durkheim's (1947) dichotomy of the sacred and the profane; rather, it is closer to Howard Becker's (1950) sacred/secular distinction (Fallding 1967: 349) or to Geertz's (1973) distinction between the "cultural" and the "social". While Durkheim defines sacred as holy and other-worldly, Becker describes it as the legitimization of practise through tradition or fiat and moral justification. Geertz (1973: 144-5) describes culture as:

> ...an ordered system of meaning and of symbols in terms of which social interaction takes place;...

and this definition has similarities to the way "sacred" is used here. For Becker "secular" refers to a more rational approach or legitimization of goals - often as the result of a need for change. Steed (1979: 25) has pointed out that religious symbols: "...constitute the moral community, be it of civil religion or church religion." The distinction is an important one. In this analysis, sacred does not refer to "holy" symbols or rituals, but rather to moral concerns (or concerns given moral weight) expressed in specific ways by a specific community. Thus, Leach (1954: 264) has called ritual "modes of making statements about structural relationships". He further notes:

> Myth and ritual is a language of signs in terms of which claims to rights and status are expressed, but it is a language of argument, not a chorus of harmony (Ibid: 278).

Thus, the sacred aspect of the operation of a voluntary association refers to those thoughts, symbols and ritual action whereby the organization legitimates certain demands upon the larger society. It is the means whereby an ordered system of meaning is created which has relevance for the members of the organization in question.

This interpretation of ritual, myth and symbolization has several differences from earlier interpretations of their role in social life, many of them based on the Durkheimian perception of the sacred realm as the objectification of the "collective consciousness" of a society. Like Gluckman (1962: 33) many Social Anthropologists have discussed sacred aspects of social life as that realm concerned with mystical notions about power from supernatural sources. Many (Malinowski 1954, Radcliffe-Brown 1945, and Kluckholn 1942) integrated ritual, myth and symbol as parts of a larger cognitive system concerned with these mystical notions. Unlike later materialistic analysts, this group did not despise the sacred as epiphenomenon, but they did not ascribe it too much importance in daily existence either. Generally, the sacred aspect of life was seen as a reinforcement for the social order of things (Radcliffe-Brown) or at the very most, adaptive and adjustive mechanisms (Kluckholn). In general, the sacred phenomena have been considered above and beyond the important daily necessities for survival. This thesis argues, unlike the above perspectives, that the sacred realm is often the location of change-oriented behavior. What can be employed to reinforce one normative position can be used to change or create another.

One interesting aspect of symbols (and myth and ritual as types

of symbolic behavior) is that they occur in both realms of experience, the sacred and the secular; perhaps because, as Barthes (1957) has pointed out for myth, and Cohen (1974) has pointed out for symbols, they bridge the gap between the realms of experience and use meaning from one to create power in the other. In some cases, of course, power in one can be used to create meaning in the other. Thus, myth, ritual and symbols are attempts to operationalize, in very specific fashions, very specific forms of ideas. They are an attempt to create ideas-in-common. This will be developed further in Part Three of Chapter Two.

The traditional understanding of symbols comes from contrasting them with signs (see for example, Tillich 1959: 54-67). Both signs and symbols "point to a reality beyond themselves", but only symbols participate in the meaning and power of that which is symbolized. Symbols, therefore, have a representative function and also a revealing function in that they "open up levels of reality for which non-symbolic speaking is inadequate" (Ibid: 57). This conception of symbols is instructive except for two points. First, it infers that symbols, unlike signs, cannot change. As has often been pointed out, however, there is nothing intrinsic about the color red that it should stand for STOP. Except for a period of adjustment, all stop lights could be changed to blue with very little dislocation on the part of the motorists. The difficulty in changing a symbol, however, might be demonstrated by the heat of the Parliamentary debates which preceeded the adoption of the new Canadian Flag. It is assumed that this difference between signs and symbols results from the fact that the

signs are made while symbols are born out of the "womb" of the "collective unconsciousness" (Tillich 1959: 58). While Tillich and others recognize that symbols are created out of group needs, they refuse to give this act of creation conscious motivation. They recognize that symbols can change - when the needs of the group which created them change, but what Tillich and others have failed to stress is that symbols must appear changeless in order to give them the weight of a natural occurrence.

The second problem with this approach to symbols, is the belief that there is no empirical basis upon which they can be judged true or false. This perception is true, but not for the reasons assumed. Symbolic power lies in the fact that symbols are adequate to portray that which they were created to portray. Symbols must appear to be neutral if they are to have any power in the minds of men. Too obvious an alignment with an individual or a group's end goals would render symbols suspect to the larger society. Symbols must appear to make a statement of fact, not present a viewpoint or an interpretation of reality. They must appear to be unmotivated and ahistorical - and like the shark, they are not good or bad, they simply are. As a result of this apparent nature of symbols, many analysts have interpreted symbols as "natural" and therefore, not subject to truth-value interpretation. The fallacy here is a result of the fact that symbols are motivated and historical in their origins and can therefore be said to have a truth-value. But Barthes (1964) has pointed out that this truth-value is tenuous, for who is to say which interpretation of reality or history has any more validity than

another? Nevertheless, it is important to remember that symbols are motivated and historical.

What is the value of symbols to the social group which creates them and elaborates their use in ritual and myth? In his discussion of symbols, Firth (1973: 77) noted that their instrumental values are of four types. Symbols, myth and ritual are employed first, as instruments of expression, second as instruments of communication, third, as instruments of knowledge and fourth, instruments of control. These four functions operate as a unit, and the focus of the unit is the use of symbols as instruments of knowledge. As instruments of knowledge, however, Firth (Ibid: 82) finds symbols problematic. He argues that symbolization helps us to know through a process which abstracts a common quality of referent and symbol in such a way that the perception of some particular type of relationship is possible. While Firth is uncertain as to the nature of the process involved, or the types of information conveyed, the discipline of semiology is providing some answers to these questions. As we will see in Part Three of Chapter Two, Roland Barthes (1964) has provided an interesting model which has explanatory value for this process.

Generally, then, symbol, which can be defined as something which points to a reality beyond itself and participates in the meaning and power of that reality, is constructed around a process which gives <u>natural</u> meaning to <u>manmade</u> constructs. Furthermore, ritual, which is also symbolic in construction and which can be defined as a constellation of symbols and symbolic behavior, may perform this same naturalization process. Myth, as Barthes (and Kluckholn) pointed out,

is not merely the verbal justification of ritual, but is an important part of the methodology of political man in his attempts to create a reality which springs from his will and yet has the binding force of the natural world around him. As such, myth also is involved in the above process. Thus, the sacred realm, composed of both the ideology which informs the above forms of symbolic behavior, and the behavior itself, is concerned to establish a specific type of relationship between nature and culture so that the power and perpetuity observed in the former will be assumed in the latter.

The Secular:

In terms of the sacred/secular distinction described by Fallding (1967: 349) secular behavior refers to rational legitimization or a rational approach to goals. Thus, that aspect of the operation of voluntary associations which involves pragmatic organization and day-to-day functioning has been termed the secular level of operation. It is concerned with what Bloch (1976: 285) has called the mundane level of human activity. It is interesting that both Bloch and Becker see this secular level of human activity as the locus for change in contrast to the sacred level which is the "static and organic imaginary models of...society" (Bloch 1976: 287). In the day-to-day attempts to cope with the social and physical environments, changes, alterations and adjustments are often necessary. But contrary to Bloch's perceptions these changes can have interesting correlations in the sacred realm.

The distinction made in this thesis between sacred and secular

realms of social existence, has many correlations with the distinction Geertz (1973: 145) makes between culture and social structure. Geertz sees culture as "...an ordered system of meaning and of symbols in terms of which social interaction takes place" and defines social structure as the pattern of social interaction itself. In these terms, Becker's use of the word "rational" can have applicability. Geertz distinguishes between "cultural integration" which is based on logico-meaningful unities of style, logical implications of meaning and value; and social integration which is "causal-functional" and parallels the kind of organization one finds in an organism (Ibid: 145). Geertz argues that there is tension between these two systems because they are integrated in different ways. In Geertz's terms, the "secular" realm of social life is the "actual pattern of social interaction" based on a blueprint provided by the "sacred" realm.

Bloch like Geertz (as well as Murphy, Leach and others) also divides man's existence into two realms. In describing the secular realm he writes:

> ...there is a system used in normal communication based on universal notions of time and cognition, and in which people are visualized in ways which seem to differ little from culture to culture, a system which is used for the organization of practical activities, especially productive activities, and on the other hand, there is another totally different system...(Bloch 1976: 187).

In this productive system, roles, status, behavior and expectations are geared to the work to be done, the means available to do it and the means of sharing the rewards of that labor. These are concerns that every social group must resolve to perform any behavior necessary

to achieve life-sustaining goals. Thus, the secular realm of thought and action, is specifically goal-directed and practical.

In the analysis of voluntary associations, when practical concerns are taken into consideration, typologies are often constructed which divide the formal or rational-legal associations from the informal or traditional associations. This distinction is based on structural differences and differences of associational motivations. It is often assumed that associations seeking change will form rational-legal associations with complex hierarchical structures of authority, productive roles and non-traditional methods of achieving goals. Associations seeking to preserve traditional aspects of the social or cultural milieu are often interpreted as requiring organization based on ritualistic or familistic traditional lines of authority and organization. Abner Cohen (1974: 65) suggests that symbolic action is more important to the non-rational based organization than to "formally rationally organized groups". Formal organizations have a different secular organization from those informal organizations which Cohen discusses, however, they still utilize the sacred realm as this thesis will show with the rationally organized Royal Canadian Legion.

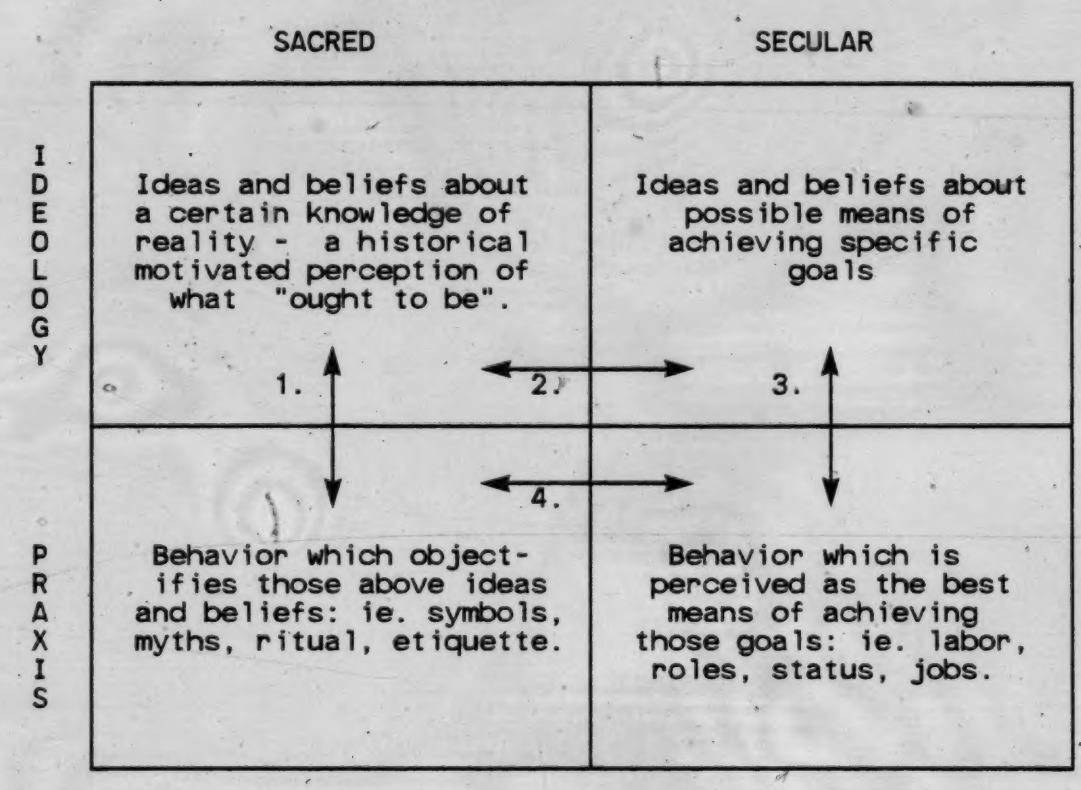
What is the distinction between the secular organization of formal versus informal groups? It has been suggested that the basis of a distinction between formal and informal groups is the organization of tasks and occasions (Barth 1972: 208). Barth argues that there are two major axes of organization which must be considered: first, the structures of status and second, the

delineation of jobs. These two are integrated by the concept of the "definiton of the situation". According to this typology, formal organizations are contract-oriented because of the large range of situations characterized by explicit and formalized individual agreements on how to react to them (Ibid: 213). The assumption is that informal groupings have less rigidity in their delineation of jobs, number of jobs and integration of jobs to specific situations.

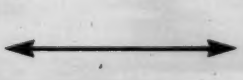
Nevertheless, the formal and informal groups still depend upon symbolic behavior to delineate roles within the organization and to make statements about the nature of those roles. If as Cohen (1974: 21) has suggested, there is a dialectical relationship between symbolic action and power relationships, the secular realm can also be said to have its "symbols about power". The difference between secular and sacred symbols is not always easy to establish. However, the difference may be elucidated by a comparison, of, for example, Joan of Arc with a modern military commander. Both are symbolic of power, but the sources of that power are very different. That one is more "rationally based" than another is an arbitrary designation: nevertheless, they are different. One source of power is based on a contract between the individual and the state, the other is based on a relationship between the individual and supernatural powers. If Durkheim is correct, the two boil down to the same thing. If Durkheim is incorrect, there are some basic differences here which this thesis will try to illuminate.

Diagram #2:

The Model: The Operation of Voluntary Associations


SACRED
SECULAR
IDEOLOGY
PRAXIS
Ideas and beliefs about a certain knowledge of reality - a historical motivated perception of what "ought to be".
Ideas and beliefs about possible means of achieving specific goals
1.
2.
3.
4.
Behavior which objectifies those above ideas and beliefs: ie. symbols, myths, ritual, etiquette.
Behavior which is perceived as the best means of achieving those goals: ie. labor, roles, status, jobs.

Note:

Mediation: 

PART THREE - THE MODEL: THE INTEGRATION OF THE SACRED AND THE SECULAR REALMS

In examining the diagram on Page 86 it can be seen that there are four parts to the model of the operation of voluntary associations and that these four parts are integrated by lines of interaction. In Part Two of this chapter, the sacred and secular components of this model were discussed. As was pointed out then, these sacred and secular components are objectified in idea and action. However, ideas (or thoughts) and action (or behavior) are bounded by a social universe and this universe is characterized by an ongoing historical development. For this reason, the terminology "ideology" and "praxis" have been employed to reflect the dialectical, historical, evolving interaction of ideas and action in the social environment (see, for example, the Neo-Marxist discussion of these terms in Lefebvre 1969). These terms are not to be viewed as mutually exclusive. Ideology may be defined as "ideas about action", or more properly, "historically informed ideas about social behavior". Praxis may be defined as "behavior or action informed through ideology". However, while praxis contains an ideological component, perfection of fit between ideology and praxis is never complete. As Murphy has pointed out, a tension exists between them as a result of their different natures. Ideas are specific in form and diffuse in content while action is specific in content and diffuse in form (Murphy 1971: 242). Thinking about an action and performing that action are two very different things.

Further, while the "ideal" is approachable in thought, it is very difficult to achieve in the social universe of behavior. In complex societies, a multiplicity of ideologies may exist simultaneously, each one with different concepts of the "ideal" way to behave. Thus, mediation is necessary between ideology and praxis, as it is necessary between the sacred and the secular.

Lines of interaction in the model are provided by several types of mediation. Ritual and etiquette mediate between ideology and praxis as in lines one and three in the diagram (Murphy 1971: 242). Myth and ritual mediate between secular needs and sacred necessity as in lines two and four in the diagram (Barthes 1957). Mediation can also be required because sacred ideology may often conflict with secular ideology, as for example, with a "Christian evolutionist". Similarily, secular praxis may conflict with sacred praxis, as for example, when a job requires working on the sabbath. This form of mediation is very individualistic and different people will resolve such conflicts in very personal ways. For our purpose, however, one of the most important forms of mediation occurs when sacred praxis, through the use of ritual, myth and symbol, allows for a transformation of secular requirements into sacred necessity. This may occur at the level of the individual, the group or the society as a whole. At the group level this mediation occurs through a very complex process which will be discussed here since it is one of the most important forms of mediation in the successful operation of a voluntary association.

Speech, like symbols, rituals and myth, is a form of symbolic

behavior which attempts to externalize certain ideas (though whether ideas come before symbols or vice versa is a chicken and egg question). Thus, these types of symbolizing activity all have one thing in common, they are attempts to communicate. This goal of communication, as was pointed out above, is essential in constructing a world in common. Barthes (1957: 112) has written that linguistic methodology is:

> ...a part of semiology inasmuch as it is a formal science, and of ideology inasmuch as it is an historical science: it studies ideas-in-form.

Semiology postulates a relationship between two terms, a signifier and a signified such that a sign (or the associative total of the first two terms) is produced (see also Coward and Ellis 1977 for further ramifications of semiological analysis). These terms are purely formal according to Barthes, and different content can be given to them.

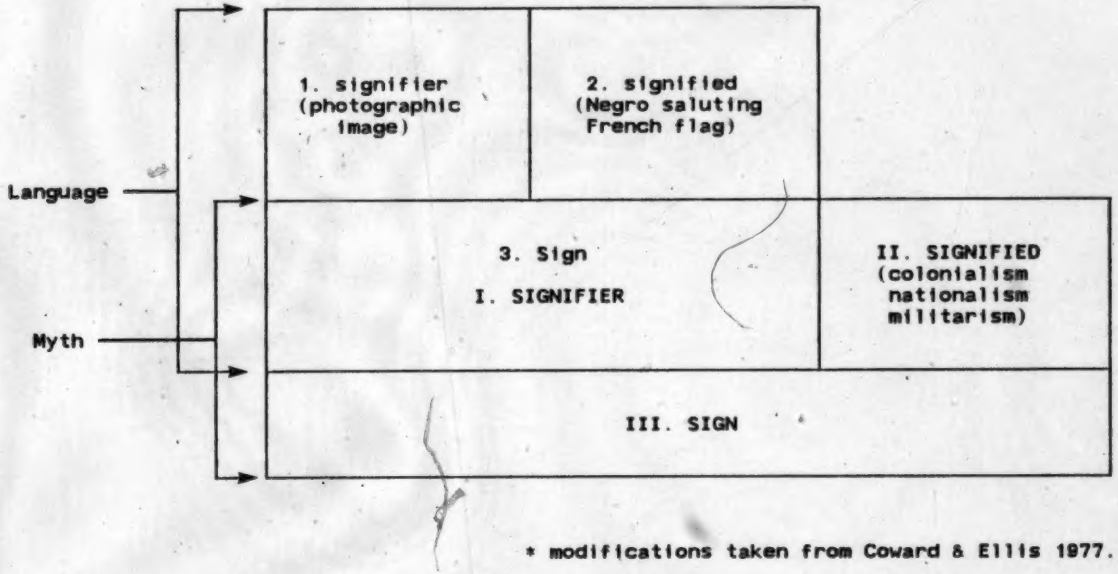
For example, the signifier may be a photograph (or a drawing or a song) which is a form of representation which we recognize and can therefore interpret. The signified - the image contained in the photograph - contains symbolic representations which are also recognizable - in the example which Barthes employs a negro male is wearing specific types of clothing and performing a specific pattern of behavior in relation to a piece of cloth having a distinctive design. In this case, the sign is the associative total of the signifier and the signified - a picture of a negro soldier saluting the French Flag. This picture, however, becomes a signifier for the

conveyance of a larger meaning.

Thus, in this famous example of the magazine cover, published during the Algerian wars, Barthes shows how two systems of meaning are portrayed in a myth - the denotative meaning is just what is seen, a Negro saluting the French Flag. But the connotative meaning is found in the conjunction of the publication of just that picture during France's struggles in Algeria. Thus, the connotative meaning is that colonialism must be right (ie. correct morally) since even native Algerians are willing to fight to the death to defend it. The connotative meaning "leans on" the denotative meaning so that they appear as a natural unit (Coward and Ellis 1977: 26). Thus, according to Barthes (1957; 114), the important aspect of a myth is that it is a second-order semiological system - it is constructed from a semiological chain which existed before it. In myth, that which was the sign (the associative total of a concept and an image) in the first system become a "mere signifier" is the second system. Barthes diagrams myth as a metalanguage in the following way, (see diagram top of the next page. The lower case letters refer to the linguistic system and the upper case letters refer to the mythical system. The term represented by "3. sign" and by "I. SIGNIFIER" is simultaneously the last term of the linguistic system and the first term of the mythological system. As the former, the term is meaning and as the latter, the term is form (Ibid: 116). The term "II. SIGNIFIED" refers to the concept of the myth and the term "III SIGN" is the signification.

Diagram # 3:

MYTH: The Metalanguage *



* modifications taken from Coward & Ellis 1977.

In discussing myth, Barthes wrote:

> Myth has in fact a double function: it points out and it notifies, it makes us understand something and it imposes it on us (Ibid: 117).

This process depends on the relationship between the three parts of the communicative system, but Barthes argues that the SIGNIFIER of a myth is at the root of the myth's power. The SIGNIFIER of the myth is at the same time, meaning and form. The meaning is a compilation of history, knowledge, memory, ordering of facts, ideas and decisions. Barthes argues that this meaning is rich and complete and that the myth takes this meaning and turns it into "empty parasitical form" (Ibid: 117). Meaning is not destroyed by form, however, form sets meaning at a distance:

> It is this constant game of hide-and-seek between the meaning and the form which defines myth (Ibid: 118).

In the SIGNIFIED, the second term of the mythological system, the meaning which has been drained out of the first term to create empty form, will be wholly absorbed by the concept. Barthes writes that this concept is the motivation for myth and that it is both historical and intentional. Thus, in the example, the concept of the myth is the argument in favor of continuing the Algerian war to maintain France's colonial position here.

This concept is not abstract, but rather is a historical perception or understanding:

> ...what is invested in the concept is less reality than a certain knowledge of reality. In passing

> from the meaning to the form, the image loses some knowledge; the better to receive the knowledge in the concept (Ibid: 119).

The knowledge, that point in the system which Firth found problematic, is contained in the concept which, according to Barthes (Ibid: 119), is a:

> ...formless, unstable, nebulous condensation, whose unity and coherence are above all due to its function.

There is no clear-cut linguistic term for the knowledge because of its nature - but as Barthes has pointed out, the significant aspect of this knowledge is that it is historical and particular to an interested party. Thus the concept as the embodiement of that knowledge is <u>appropriated</u> - the message contained within the mythological concept must be appropriated by the right audience for the myth to have significance.

Another important aspect of the mythological system is that a SIGNIFIED can have many SIGNIFIERS - something that rarely occurs in language. Barthes wrote:

> ...to the qualitative poverty of the form, which is the repository of a rarified meaning, there corresponds the richness of the concept which is open to the whole of History....(Ibid: 120).

Besides the lack of one-to-one relationship between the SIGNIFIER and the SIGNIFIED, there is also a lack of fixity or permanence to the mythical concepts. Since they are historical and intentional entities, they emerge, alter or disappear. Thus, while the knowledge

contained in the myth appears sacred (meaning beyond reproach and the result of an impeccable authority), it is imposed upon the perceiver - and it is actually historically motivated and based on group interests.[2]

The SIGNIFICATION, which is the third term in the mythical process (shown as SIGN in the Diagram) is the association of the first two terms. What is the correlation between the mythical concept and the mythical form? Barthes argues that myth distorts, not hides. The SIGNIFIER appears in a given substance (verbally and linear or pictorally and multi-dimensional) while the concept is a "memorial presence":

> The relation which unites the concept of the myth to its meaning is essentially a relation of disformation (Ibid: 122).

The SIGNIFIER, being dual in nature: both full in meaning and empty in form, allows for the concept to distort the meaning to convey specific types of messages. The dynamics of myth is in this double system of form and meaning.

Barthes calls the SIGNIFIER the "turnstile" of the myth. Meaning and form alternate so that the myth has value, but no guarantee of truth. He argues that this duplicity of the SIGNIFIER has two consequences in determining the character of the SIGNIFICATION - the SIGN (or SIGNIFICATION) appears both as a notification and as a statement of fact. Thus, the SIGN in a myth is not arbitrary as it is in language. The SIGN is motivational and contains an analogy:

> ...myth plays on the analogy between meaning and

> form, there is no myth without motivated form (Ibid: 127).

History supplies the analogies to the form. A further complication arises, however, since the analogy between the meaning and the concept is always partial. Barthes argues that the form drops many analogous possibilities and retains only a few which are pertinent to the concept.

Thus, in plain terms, we may sum up Barthes's argument in the following way: myth (and according to Cohen, Leach and Firth, symbol and ritual as well) is a special form of communication which is motivated by group interests. Myth both notifies the perceiver of something at the same time that it "imposes it upon them". To do this myth must avoid being too obscure to communicate efficiently (remember it is aimed at an audience) and must also avoid being too clear to be believable. Barthes (Ibid: 129) wrote:

> The elaboration of a second-order semiological system will enable myth to escape this dilemma; driven to having either to unveil or liquidate the concept it will naturalize it...it transforms history into nature.

It is this motivated aspect of myth which provides an explanation of the role which Firth perceives myth playing in the "interest groups" of politics, religion and ethnicity (Firth 1973). It is also this motivational aspect to myth (and by extension to symbol and ritual) which explains the occurrence of myth, symbol and ritual in the operation of voluntary associations.

This thesis argues that the principle question to ask of social

life is not: "How is order maintained?", but rather: "How is a common world constructed?" Through the process which Barthes has outlined, it would seem that symbolization plays a most important role in the construction of a common perception of reality which if it does not actually exist, can at least be held to be existing in a social group by the members of that social group. Similarily, interest groups within the larger society, with their diverse goals and needs, use the same mechanism to communicate their unique perception of reality in socializing themselves and in negotiating with the wider community. This mechanism results in these voluntary associations having a "transcendent function" (see Dufrenne 1975 and Ricoeur 1971) over and above that of meeting those individual needs of the members. Thus, the voluntary association comes to "stand for" something larger and more important than the fundamental, common, tangible needs and desires of everyday life. The organization comes to represent something "finer", something larger than life, something having significance for all members of society. This "transcendence" is created through the use of culturally specific and historically significant symbolic and aesthetic elements to create a metalanguage of myth and ritual. The viability of voluntary associations lies in their unique dualistic structure where the role of myth, ritual and symbol is to mediate between the secular aspect and the sacred aspect of the group's operation. The process which Barthes outlines may be the most important mediating factor in the model employed in this thesis. Through the above process, motivational and historically produced perceptions of reality can be recognized as important to the

secular operation of an organization and can be swiftly converted to sacred necessity - not only for the members of that specific group, but for any member of the society sharing the same historical background and cultural bag of meanings.

Summary:

In Chapter Two several important questions have been approached. First, the question: "How does social change occur?" was asked. Then we examined the role of voluntary associations in that process. Finally, the achievement of the above role through the use of myth, ritual and symbol was examined. A model was proposed which suggests a solution to the above issues and which uses a process outlined by Barthes (1957). This discussion originally addressed the question: "Can we develop a theory of society and social change which encompasses an understanding of the interrelationship and the interaction of ideas and action in social behavior such that social change which originates within the social system is related to individual action?" The conclusion drawn, after much discussion, was that such a theory of society and social change was possible. A review of the above arguments may make that conclusion clear.

Voluntary associations, whether rational-legal or traditional in form, work to maintain traditional social patterns often at the same time that they are working to initiate new social patterns. It was proposed that if social change and social continuity were viewed as often originating out of the same process, then one institution could embody this process with no contradictions in form or content. Such a

theory must assume the role of actors within the social realm as key elements; moreover, these actors are motivated by interests which are expressed in several ways -one of which is to form a group of like-minded individuals to achieve certain goals. The role of the individual actor is impossible to conceive in many "classical" theories of social change which tend to be deterministic. Only those interpretations of change which view change as sometimes originating within a system allow for the active autonomy of individuals in shaping and initiating social change. The position taken in this thesis is one which favors the role of the individual (with all of his motivations and interests) in social change. There are problems with this position which remain unresolved: not the least of which is to what extent is the "myth creation" which Barthes discusses a "conscious" effort? Do interest groups actually set out to cold-bloodedly create myths which will deceive other people into viewing history in a way conducive to the first group's interests? Barthes argues not and favors a careful interpretation of myth which will respect the power of that creation, even on the minds of the creators.

This then raises the issue of the relationship between the actor's ideas and his action. Thinking about social change is not the same thing as bringing it about within the wider social sphere. None of the classical thinkers seem to have resolved the issue of the relationship between ideas and action which is one of the concerns of this discussion. Murphy defines this relationship as the root of social life and many recent authors agree with him (see for example Geertz 1973, Boldt 1979, Stokes and Hewitt 1976). This perception

sees the relationship between ideas and action as one of conflict; but the conflict is one that creates, re-inforces and changes normative systems. Despite the complexity of this problem, for the purpose of the argument employed in this thesis, this issue has been resolved in the following way. Norms are held to have cognitive empirical reality which is differentially absorbed (as a result of the method by which they are absorbed), adhered to or interpreted by different individuals within the social system. Why this is so is a matter for the concern of psychologists. Like Simmel, Freud and Murphy, it is assumed that a certain amount of "functional mutual ignorance" is necessary and inevitable in the operation of social life (Murphy 1971: 137). These norms form only part of the cognitive apparatus by which an individual pursues his daily life. Following Simmel's "Negative Character of Collective Behavior Principle", it is assumed that the larger and more heterogenous the society, the greater the number of diverse interests and the fewer and the simpler the norms governing the interaction of the members (Ibid: 146). Those norms which are agreed upon are the type specified by Murphy as diffuse in form and amorphous in content. It is just this type of norm which is most open to interpretive negotiation. They are related to concrete action in the form of ritual and etiquette and become the ammunition in the "naturalization" of personal or group interests.

This process is at the heart of the employment of symbol, myth and ritual within voluntary associations and becomes one way in which they enter into negotiations with the other interest groups or the larger society over rights. This negotiation is not only directd

outward to the social forces external to the group, but is also directed inwards to the associational membership. Thus, myth, ritual and symbols may be the "secondary epiphenomenon" of material relations of production, but are integral parts of the fabric of social life nevertheless. The various roles of voluntary associations in social life are better understood when they are viewed as the result of conscious motivations on the part of their membership and not the result of a reified society responding to dangerous misbalances in the organic whole which is its structure.

CHAPTER THREE - DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction:

The process discussed in Chapter Two can be demonstrated with data from the Royal Canadian Legion. This chapter will provide that demonstration. It begins in Part One with an introduction to the symbolic and the ritualistic elements found within the operation of the Legion as first experienced during initiation. In Part Two it examines more carefully these symbolic elements as they are explained by the Legion itself and through analysis using the model discussed in Chapter Two. Finally, in Part Three a demonstration of secular needs appearing in the sacred realm will be given and the source of the historical and motivated aspects of the sacred realm will be suggested for the Canadian Legion as a whole.

PART ONE - INITIATION - SACRED EXPLANATIONS

Initiation into the Legion is a matter for individual branches to formalize. The national organization provides guidelines in the Ritual and Procedure booklet: however, in many cases, attendance of new members is not mandatory and many branches combine initiation with regular monthly meetings and give it no special prominence. Nevertheless, the prescribed ceremony bears many close parallels to the classic Van Gennepian analysis of these rituals, including the three part structure of separation, transition and incorporation (Van Gennep

1960: 11) and the positive instruction in sacred knowledge (Ibid: 75).

On January 25, 1977, I was initiated into the General Stewart Branch of the Canadian Legion, along with several other new associate members. Following a supper and a general branch meeting, all the new initiates were asked to gather at the back of the meeting hall (the separation or "preliminal rites"). After lining up in the order in which we had earlier given our names, accomplished with a great deal of confusion, shoving and incomprehensible parade commands, we were marched to the front of the hall. Our ragged marching and lack of parade knowledge amused the assembly and there were good-natured calls of: "Step along there!" or "Eyes Forward!" from the watching crowd. The Presiding Officer requested that we be presented to him and we were lined up at the head of the room where we were informed that our membership had been approved and that before initiation we were to be instructed in the "purposes and objects" of the Legion (rites of transition or "liminal rites").

We were requested to make a declaration of our loyalty to the Sovereign and Country and of our obedience to the branch by-laws, before the above information was given. This declaration included a confirmation of our earlier affirmation that we were not members of any party or sect whose interests "conflicted" with those of the Legion, or where an overthrow of the government by force was advocated. Following this declaration and the instruction, the Presiding Officer made a short speech and went down the line presenting us with a Legion badge pin.

The sacred objects are explained in the following manner: "I will now explain the emblems of the Legion which are displayed before you: "The NATIONAL FLAG OF CANADA represents our country throughout the world. The red and the white are the colours of Canada. The maple leaf seems to have been regarded as a Canadian emblem as early as 1700, if not before.

"THE ROYAL UNION FLAG (Union Jack) is a symbol of Canada's membership in the Commonwealth of Nations and of her allegiance to the Crown and our affiliation with the British Commonwealth Ex-Services League.

"THE BLOOD RED POPPY of Flanders is immortalized as an emblem of sacrifice and remembrance for the honouring of the thousands who laid down their lives for those ideals which we, as Canadians, cherish. The poppy calls upon us to remember not only those who have died, but also those they left dependent, and those who still suffer from honourable wounds and disabilities. The poppy challenges us to serve in peace, as in war; to help those who need our help and to protect those who need our protection.

"The TORCH is symbolic of justice, honour and freedom for which our comrades fought and died. We who are left must pledge ourselves to hold it high lest we break faith with those who died.

"OUR BADGE is a symbolic badge:

- the crown is the St. Edward Crown as used by Her Majesty.
- the red maple leaf on white background is derived from the Canadian Coat of Arms.
- our pledge and motto - "We will remember them" is in the outside circle. It is in Latin, a language generally used on

badges, crests and banners of national and military emblems.

- the world "Legion" in gold on a blue background represents the official colours of the Legion.
- the poppy is the symbol of remembrance.

"This badge is approved by the Sovereign. It is to be worn honourably and proudly."

After this instruction, we were then accepted into the Legion by the Presiding Officer who turned us to face the assembly and asked that they show their approval of the new members (rites of incorporation or "Postliminal rites"). The assembly rose and applauded while we were marched back to our seats accompanied by a Highland piper. As I sat down, the people around me shook my hand and welcomed me into the Legion. While the formal initiation was over, the instruction was not. Two speakers made presentations on our duties, roles and obligations concerning the Legion. These presentations, unlike the earlier formal instruction, stressed the more recent Legion orientation towards community work. As one speaker said: "We don't just come down here and drink and tell war stories, we are involved in the life of our communities."

While the separation and incorporation stages of this initiation ceremony are attenuated, the transitional (or liminal) stage is well developed. This is a pattern that Turner (1967: 95) wrote was characteristic of initiation rites versus other rites of passage. Further, Turner argued that the liminal period may be marked by "structural simplicity"; however, this is offset by its "cultural complexity" (Ibid: 102). This period is one of <u>communication</u>, and

that which is communicated is the "sacra" or the sacred quality of cultural information. This holds true for the initiation ceremony of the Legion as well.

PART TWO - MYTH AND THE CANADIAN LEGION'S SACRED

Remembrance Day:

While the Remembrance Day ceremonies have been touched upon already, it is important to stress this series of rituals as central to the sacred orientation of the Legion. Occurring once a year on November 11th, this day reaffirms in full public view the values and beliefs of the membership. It is a day of complex intermingling of national, Legion and personal sacred orientations. In Barthesian terms, it is the biggest myth constructed by the Legion.

In many cities and towns across Canada, this ceremonial occasion is enacted with very little variation. Usually the day breaks down neatly into three distinct parts; a service in the morning, the parade and cenotaph ceremonies in the late morning and the afternoon and evening service club celebrations. More recently, in cities such as Edmonton, these ceremonies have attenuated into a morning parade and cenotaph service followed by individual clubs holding uncoordinated and small in-house celebrations. Originally, however, the day was divided into three parts representing a sacred orientation which lasted through the morning and a sharp break at noon signalling a transition to a secular orientation in the afternoon and evening.

On Tuesday, November 11, 1980, I attended the Remembrance Day

Ceremonies organized by the General Stewart Branch and other service clubs for their community. It was the fourth time I had attended Remembrance Day ceremonies in that community since my research began. In that city, the ceremonies have not been collapsed but rather have grown and retained a large turn-out of the public. The morning services were conducted by the Padres of the local veterans' organizations and included hymns, scripture readings, prayer, an address and a benediction. The service opened with the placing of colors (flags) to a muffled drum and a call to worship and invocation. Central to the morning services is the recital of the poem In Flanders Fields and it has been set to music and is often sung as a hymn. This poem will be discussed more extensively later.

Directly following morning services, held in a church close to the downtown cenotaph, the parade was organized and marched from the church to the cenotaph. Included in this parade were representatives from the Canadian Armed Forces, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the City Police, St. John Ambulance, the Royal Canadian Legion Pipe Band, the veterans of the two World Wars, Korea and other military engagements, an auxillary Royal Canadian Air Force group, the Polish veterans, members of the RCL Ladies Auxillary, USA colours and guard, American veterans and representatives from several youth groups including Sea Cadets, Navy League, Air Cadets, Girl Guides, Boy Scouts and Junior Forest Wardens. The presence of American colours and veterans is always remarked upon with pride by the local organizers. The respect for and involvment in the Canadian Remembrance Day by members of American Veteran Associations is a curious but powerful

validation of the ceremony in the eyes of the public. The involvement of local youth groups is also a source of pride to many parents, while it ensures that young people attend and thus gain some exposure to the values and ideals presented on this occasion. The ranks of the veterans are much thinner now, especially the World War One veterans. The youth groups also serve to alleviate this inevitable reduction of parade personnel.

Upon reaching the cenotaph, which is defined in the Webster dictionary as an "empty tomb as a memorial to someone buried elsewhere", the parade order is grouped in a semicircle around the memorial and the cenotaph service begins. This service holds several formalized ceremonies that are regularly enacted across the nation. It is during this section of the ceremonies that the Barthesian structure of myth, as motivated and historical, can be most clearly seen. The intermingling of national sentiment with military precision and pride as well as private memories provides a powerful SIGNIFIED in the mythological metalanguage.

The ceremonies are overseen by an honor guard which includes representatives of the navy, airforce, army and militia. Local politicans are usually present as well. The services open with the national anthem followed by the "lament" played on Highland bagpipes. The firing party and minute gun give the gun salute followed by a "fly past" by the airforce or local flying club. The Last Post is then played followed by two minutes of silence. After Reveille is played, the laying of the wreaths (stylized circles of poppies) occurs led off by the bereaved mother, and this ceremony is followed by a prayer and

benediction. Conducted on a cold, overcast day in mid-November, this ceremony creates an emotion-charged atmosphere which affects even those too young to be involved in or remember any war or loss. The symbolic structure of the ceremony is rich in myth as defined by Barthes. As the presentation of the poem In Flanders Fields is the central focus of the morning service; the laying of the wreaths, particularly that presented by the "bereaved mother" is the central focus of the cenotaph service. A different woman is chosen to perform this task each year as a symbol of bereavement, both nationally in Ottawa and locally in the smaller centres. Through an analysis of the mythological metalanguage of this performance, however, we will see that the bereaved mother is much more than a national or local symbol of loss.

Contained within this figure, usually an older widow who has lost more than one child in the war, is the entire history of the Western perception of motherhood. This perception contains all the nebulous and diffuse feelings and beliefs about the sacred ties of mother and offspring which the male figure of the father would be powerless to convey. At the same time, this woman conveys a specific meaning of war; the emotional cost, the sacrifice well-made, the pain of those who but sit and wait. As a SIGNIFIER she is meaning plus form, but only a very specific aspect of the meaning is absorbed by the mythical concept. For example, her qualities of motherhood which are selected for emphasis are very positive. No negative aspects of motherhood are expressed, save for the possibility of losing one's child. This woman did not bear illegitimate offspring, she did not beat her children,

she was not jealous, overbearing or overprotective. Instead, this woman is the picture of the ideal mother, moderate in all things, including her grief. Her record is impeccable, in her role in these services if not in real life. Thus, the meaning embodied in this female figure and which is appropriated by the Legion's mythical concept, is the positive aspects of motherhood plus the negative aspects of bereavement - loneliness, indigence, all bravely born for the sake of her country.

The mythical concept or SIGNIFIED which is the reason for this performance, is "formless, unstable, nebulous and a condensation." It is remembrance of a specific perception of history, it is hope for the future; it is honour, respect, commitment and pride for the dead and many other nebulous feelings united in the Legion's function. This function is fourfold: first, to constantly re-awaken the Canadian public to the nature of the sacrifices made during the war; second, to re-affirm the honourable debt still owing to those making the sacrifices; third, to re-affirm the value of the institutions for which the sacrifices were made, and fourth, to re-affirm the need to protect those institutions from any threats. If bereaved motherhood can honour the cause for which her children died, then so must we all. In her role as "empty form" she is bereavement; in her role as "full meaning" she is motherhood. In different combinations with the concept of the myth, she is both an example of a national debt still requiring payment and a personification of the reason that Canadian men went to war. She stands for family, home, country, freedom and all the institutions of Canadian life. She is also the

personification of remembrance. Just as a mother would never forget her children, so a country must never forget those citizens who died or were wounded to preserve it.

By the simple act of laying a wreath, this female figure re-affirms the "moral superiority" of our government, our institutions and most of all, of the Canadian Legion. She makes them one in the naturalness of a mother's grief for her children - they participate in the powerful relationship of a mother to her children. This figure validates the Legion's right to act as surrogate for those who died and as a representative of those who did return from the war. She unites the moral superiority of these institutions with that of the Canadian Legion as their staunch defenders.

If we trace this myth through the Barthesian model more specifically, the following facts become obvious. In the Barthes example, the "language" employed was a photograph on the cover of a popular magazine. In this case, the language upon which the mythical metalanguage is constructed is ritualistic behavior. While Barthes never specifically addressed ritual as a form of metalanguage, Murphy has identified ritual, along with etiquette, as the central metalanguage in the creation of the myth of social order (Murphy 1971: 243). Like the cover of a magazine, ritual "conveys" meaning or information - it is a form of communication. In ritual behavior the SIGNIFIER is an action, the SIGNIFIED is the exactness of the replication of "possible antecedent behavior in similar situations" (Ibid: 243), and the SIGN is the social order which is to be deduced from such repetition and its interpretation by an audience. Barthes

has pointed out that myth takes what is motivated and historical and makes it seem unmotivated and ahistorical by making it seem natural (Barthes 1957: 129). The bereaved mother demonstrates this process in the operation of the Legion in Canadian society.

Thus, the Legion takes the ritualistic behavior of a woman laying a wreath of poppies at a war memorial and uses that language to create a metalanguage of myth. The SIGNIFIER in this myth is "motherhood" and "bereavement" in a turnstyle operation which creates empty form wherein the SIGNIFIED (discussed above as nebulous concepts united by the Legion's purpose) can be made "natural" through its unification with the SIGNIFIER to create a SIGN - the moral superiority of our society, our institutions and by association, the Canadian Legion.

It is interesting that in his "drama theory" of ritual, Scheff (1977: 484) notes that ritual evokes distress in order to discharge it; but he does not speculate on the process whereby evocation of emotion is achieved. He argues for a concept of present-time and past-time consciousness - where events in the first can result in re-experiencing of events in the second (Ibid: 486). Through the ritualistic re-enacement of situations of "collective distress" catharsis is achieved. Scheff misses two points, however; first, many people who never experienced the first or original situation of collective distress are able to perform cathartic ritual activities as well as those who did experience the original situation. Second, only specific distressful events in a society's history will be chosen for cathartic re-enactment. Barthes may provide a clue as to the solution to these points.

Emotion is evoked through the use of the mythic metalanguage; the concept appropriates the emotion inherent in the meaning of the SIGNIFIER and distorts this emotion to aid in the attainment of the goal of the myth. The "turnstyle" of the myth - the SIGNIFIER - is the means whereby the past can be recreated and linked to the present in such a way as to make it applicable to all the audience. Those events in the history of a society which will be chosen for re-enactment are those events for which there is an interested party and an audience. It is the historical and motivated aspect of myth and ritual which results in the cathartic effects which Scheff has recognized. But it must be pointed out that such an interpretation can lead to a dangerous misinterpretation of the Barthesian model. It would be simplistic to view these myths as cold-hearted attempts to deceive and influence. Barthes warns against simplistic interpretations of myth and urges us to respond to the "dynamics of the myth" in order to understand it. These are the creations which give our lives meaning and which focus and transmit those nebulous feelings about our fellowship, our shared triumphs and troubles and our history. They must be respected to be truly appreciated in their complex role in our societies.

To return to the Legion Remembrance Day Ceremonies, the afternoon and evening "open-houses" held at many Legion halls on that day are very secular in their orientations compared to the morning services. Ritual and symbolic elements are present, but muted and to the casual observer the festivities would seem no more than a good party. It is the open house, however, which allows the political overtones of the

day to find more direct expression.

The people arriving cold and subdued from the cenotaph are served a lunch prepared by the Ladies Auxillary and soon the first keg of beer is announced. In many branches the tradition of "donations" of beer by political or business leaders of the community has been abandoned as attracting people to the clubs for the "wrong reasons". This presentation of free kegs is still an integral part of the Remembrance Day open house at the General Stewart Branch, however, and as each successive announcement of a new keg is cheered, the crowd is put in a receptive mood to hear the inevitable "few words" from the mayor, the local member of Parliament or member of the Legislative Assembly. On many occasions these short speeches may be a simple statement of support for Legion community involvement or for the broad goals of "world peace" and national remembrance. During periods of political tension, however, Remembrance Day can be a bonanza for the political party in office - after all, the opposition is never officially present and is not provided "equal time". For example, during the year of the Quebec referendum, and later, during the constitutional debates, local political leaders called for support from Legion "comrades" in the name of the fallen whom they represented, in the fight to preserve the nation from internal dissension. It is obvious that what is occurring on these occasions is an astute and mutual exploitation - the Legion receiving tacit recognition of its political clout and the politicians receiving a free podium and a receptive audience.

Following the short addresses and a highly appreciated display

from the Legion pipe band (which marks the close of "secular business", so to speak), the evening is culminated by a dance. This marks the close of the Remembrance Day festivities and as soon as the dance begins a shift is noticeable in the attitude of the men and women in attendence. More than the nostalgic songs sung earlier while waiting for the political "floorshow", and more than the lunch or the beer, the arrival of the dance band marks the end of the official Legion celebration of Remembrance Day. The continuum from the extreme sacred orientation of the morning through the symbolism of the cenotaph service is culminated in the evening by a purely secular period of personal enjoyment. Thus the Remembrance Day celebrations organized by the Legion on November 11th every year reflect the organization of that association itself - presenting both the secular and the sacred aspects of the associational operation to the public.

In Flanders Field:

The predominant symbol for the Legion has always been the stylized poppy. This symbol is found on the Legion badge and is displayed on most ceremonial occasions. It comes into prominence just before November 11th, Remembrance Day. For this occasion, Legion volunteers sell poppies manufactured by war veterans, in the streets, in shopping malls and in Legion branches. These poppies are then worn on lapels on or before Remembrance Day and are also the principle feature in wreaths which are placed on war cenotaphs. It was an American Young Mens' Christian Association worker who first designed and promoted the poppy as a symbol of the suffering caused by war

(Bowering 1960: 202), and the idea quickly spread. The first "poppy day" was celebrated in Canada in 1921.

For the Legion, a more significant aspect of the poppy is that a Canadian, John McCrae immortalized it in a poem just before he died in the First World War. This poem has become famous and reads:

> In Flanders' fields the poppies blow
> between the crosses, row on row
> That mark our place; and in the sky
> the larks still bravely singing fly,
> scarce heard amidst the guns below.
>
> We are the dead.
> Short days ago we lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
> Loved and were loved, and now we lie
> in Flanders' fields.
>
> Take up our quarrel with the foe,
> To you from failing hands we throw
> The Torch - be yours to hold it high;
> If ye break faith with us who die
> We shall not sleep, though poppies blow
> In Flanders' fields.

In these three stanzas we find the ultimate expression of the Legion's self-perceived nature and task in Canadian society.

The Legion (Bowering 1960: 201) presents the poppy as a symbolic distillation of several ideas. First it is argued that poppies covered the scars of war and promised a better day in the future - thus, they are symbols of hope. Second, it is argued that the poppy - "unconquered and unconquerable" - represents the "spirit" of the Canadian solider; which even in death, presses "onward and upward" to fulfill its share "of the common task". Third, it is seen as representative of the faith which the Legion upholds and which these men died to defend - the faith in "freedom, democracy and all other

cherished Canadian institutions." Finally, the poppy represents a pledge to remember all those who fought to defend that faith; to remember and honor them and to fight to preserve that which they fought and died for.

After the Second World War, and the creation of the United Nations, the poppy came to have a fifth meaning for the Legion - a desire to remember the horrors of war in order to promote world peace. With the advent of the radicalism of the 1960's and the backlash of popular opinion against American involvement in Vietnam and a general rejection of many traditional values, the poppy and all it symbolized came under attack. The Legion response to this change of public attitude was to stress the need to learn from history - to keep the past constantly in mind in order to avoid repeating the mistakes of the past in the future.

For example, in a pamphlet produced for use in the school system, the Legion argues:

> For those who want to listen, Remembrance can be the greatest of peace festivals. It asks, "Why did they die?" It asks, "What have you done to change things?" And it cries, "Let's not have any more names chiselled on any more cenotaphs".
> This is what Remembrance is about, not a glorification of war. The Canadians who died believed in a better future. Those who survived have done a great deal to build this future...Now it is up to you to continue the work..." (Why We Wear a Poppy 1977).

Thus, for the Legion, the poppy has come to symbolize many diffuse concepts as they are interpreted by a specific, historically-motivated group. These concepts include patriotism, nationalism, duty, responsibility, honour, freedom and finally MEMORIAM* EORIUM*

RETINEBIMUS which the Legion translates as "We Will Remember them".

The symbolic figure of the "Forgotten Soldier" reminds the Canadian public of the nameless thousands of Canadians dead in the battlefield in defense of their country. But more poignant than this observation is the Legion's self-recognition of the Forgotten Soldier as more than "forgotten", as indeed, "suspect". From his beginnings in an idealistic time when "ideals for the new world were forged, a time when men set out to live up to that vision", the veteran is now "conscious of something unrealized". Thus, in a recent edition of the Legion - a magazine published by the Legion, a member wrote:

> This is the tax on the price the veteran has paid. He spent his best years fighting for something he no longer feels a part of...the veteran has found himself in a society somehow drifting further and further from his world of vision.
> Suddenly to some he is an antiquated, clumsy, bigoted red-neck, lamenting the current state of world affairs...he is no longer at the hub of society's whirling direction. Suddenly he is reactionary...
> (Legion, Vol. 55, No. 7, December 1980).

It is this final betrayal which the Legion opposes through a mythological process whereby the above noted ideals become natural and therefore, morally right. At the centre of the myth of the Forgotten Soldier is a moral debt unpaid.

The nature of the payment demanded for this debt depends heavily on the essentially working class roots of the Legion. Unlike the American Legion, as distinct from American branches of the Canadian Legion, the Canadian Legion had its origins squarely within the social reform movement of the post-First World War era. While the Canadian

Legion took no official position for or against organized labour during the struggles of the One Big Union Movement in 1921, large numbers of Legion members did not hesitate to use the organizations' name and their own role in the Great War to parade in support or in opposition of the movement (Masters 1950). Such a schism could never have occured in the American Legion (see Gellerman 1938, on the origins and nature of the American Legion). Gellerman (1938) argued that in the early stages of the American Legion the one hundred percent Americanism creed came into conflict with the needs of the working class veterans and veterans' needs were disregarded as a priority. This has only recently begun to change with the new radical voice of the Vietnam veterans.

For the Canadian Legion, nationalism, pertaining to the wider loyalties of the British Empire as well as to the Canadian nation, is a fundamental principle of the Legion creed. However, the more "mundane" concerns of pensions, health care and subsidization, education and training, employment and housing for Canadian veterans have always received the highest priority in the Legion's dealings with the Canadian government and with private industry. These are essentially the concerns of the working class man, and while the Legion has often been accused of being reactionary and right-wing in its approach to society and government, this assessment is based on a misunderstanding of Legion goals and historic development. The Canadian Legion openly recognizes the "political nature" of its operations:

> ...any banding together of men with common

> interests to effect desired change in society is political. (Legion, Vol. 50 No. 6, November 1975:24).

But rather than view its activities as reactionary, the Legion perceives them as an endeavor to "translate into action the spirit of comradeship and sacrifice upon which its aims and objects are based" (Ibid: 5). In a magazine article, a Legion advocate argued:

> In a world where materialistic considerations play a large part, it is well for a nation to have in its midst a group of men and women who place service high among the virtues, who continue in times of peace to be guided by that fellow feeling and sense of duty to their country and countrymen that are among the few good things engendered by war (Ibid: 5).

To return to John McCrae's poem, the Legion perceives its members as those inheritors of the "torch" - they among all Canadian citizens understand the true nature of the Canadian institutions and the worth of Canadian society. The Legion continues to fight for its members' perception of that which they and their comrades fought to preserve. For this reason, the Legion argues that Canada's debt of honour towards her war veterans has not been redeemed. The debt continues to grow as long as the Legion continues its work.

The Royal Canadian Legion has been enormously successful in translating its mandate in Canadian society from one of an "event-oriented" debt to one of an "ideology-oriented" interest. The members of this organization, in bearing the "torch", have "invested" in Canadian society. They constantly struggle to have that investment recognized and to collect the debt owed them in political power and

social prestige. The Forgotten Soldier, the Bereaved Mother, the Poppy, the Torch and the other symbols, rituals and mythological constructs of this organization work to that end.

PART THREE - SECULAR REQUIREMENTS AND SACRED NECESSITY: THE FAILURE OF SECULAR PERSUASIONS

The central argument of this thesis is the "political methodology" employed by voluntary associations in achieving social change. That "political methodology" is based on a conversion of secular requirements to sacred necessity. This conversion is achieved through the political tools of symbol, ritual and myth combined with a secular organizational structure of roles and responsibilities. Therein lies the duality andd the vitality of voluntary associations. In the case of the Canadian Legion, secular requirements for social change have effectively been converted to sacred necessity on many occasions and this has resulted in the construction of a rich symbolic structure within the organization. One example of this conversion was the successful demand for pensions and disability benefits based on an argument for a "moral debt". Similarily, the "moral" argument succeeded in blocking a government attempt to dispense with a national day of mourning for Canadian war dead. Such a national day, Remembrance Day, focusing on and orchestrated by veterans' organizations was too valuable a political tool to be abandoned.

Another example of secular requirements being converted to sacred necessity occured after a serious slump in membership developed in the

1950's. The organization ceased to grow and recruitment, based on pension issues became increasingly ineffective. The Legion developed a new "moral requirement" for existence based on a heretofore obscure clause from the organizational charter. Clause 12: "to pass on to (ex-servicemen's) families and descendants the traditions for which they stand", for example, and clause 9: "to foster loyalty among the public and education in principles of patriotism, duty and public service", became the cornerstones for an expanded community involvement program which today has become a multi-million dollar aspect of the operation of the organization. Simultaneously, a new symbol, the torch, came into prominence on Legion billboards, stationary and publications. This torch symbolized the Legion's attempt to "keep faith" with those who had died. Community work became another factor in the moral superiority of the organization.

The torch came into prominence again as the Legion celebrated a Fiftieth anniversary and membership growth again became a concern. Expanded membership privileges for associate members became a political issue within the organization. The progressive element within the Legion felt "new blood" was necessary since expansion could no longer depend upon recruitment of war veterans. This element pressed for full voting privileges for associate members as a way of attracting younger people to the organization. The conservative element argued that it would be better to allow the Legion to die "with the last veteran" than to allow a younger generation of members to destroy the principles on which the organization was founded. The national organization responded to this internal dissension with an

official sanction of the progressive approach. A new membership drive was developed based on the symbolism of the torch. This torch stood for values which must be passed on to the next generation, according to Head Command, and Canada's future depended on the propagation of Legion values into the next generation. Again, the expression of those values was to be achieved through community work, funding of youth groups, emergency equipment, social service based agencies and the promotion of sports and education.

The success of these campaigns is hard to document. The Legion appears vital in some communities, while in others it declines. However, it continues to receive government respect as a political force and community respect as an important benefactor. The vitality of the General Stewart Branch is strong, and the effectiveness of sacred persuasions was documented for me at this local branch where an attempt at branch secularization was recorded and later appeared to have failed. When I began my fieldwork in 1976, the branch was housed in an old three storey structure which had a rich decor of military and historic interest. Large portraits of military leaders, political figures and royalty from the two major wars hung alongside oil paintings entitled "The Battle of the Atlantic" or "Vimy Ridge". Captured German documents showing bomb targets in the English countryside were displayed as were the memorabilia of General Stewart's military career. Regimental insignia were mounted on velvet for display purposes. The environment was unashamedly military, but it was not pro-war. Instead, there was pride of service, respect for the efforts of those dead and a particular perspective on history.

In the new building, completed in 1977, the military decor was abandoned. Paintings of cattle round-ups replaced battle scenes and the General's memorabilia were displayed alongside an equally large glass case containing sports trophies. A new 'games room' was bereft of any military decor and the dining room was decorated with mirrors. This new "secular" look created many hard feelings among the veteran membership and I sat with many long-time members who complained of the "sterility" of their new building. The artillery piece and airplane displayed prominently in the parking lot did little to reassure these veterans that the club was still "their" club. They complained bitterly that the young crowds which this facelift was supposed to attract still did not come, and those that did were undesirable members anyway. Membership actually began to drop off among older members. On my last visit to the branch the military decor, while not totally reinstated, was beginning to make a reappearance since the expected rise in a more youthful membership seemed to be comprised of veterans' sons and daughters who had no complaints against a decor they were familiar with since childhood.

What this branch experienced in the years between 1977 and 1980 was the failure of secular persuasions. When the new building was built as a result of a forced move, the administration saw this as an opportunity to create an atmosphere which would not be distasteful to the members of a younger, essentially anti-military generation. Obviously a decision was made to strip the branch of any "old-fashioned" preoccupation with the past. The management was later said to have denied such an intention and many of the missing objects were

restored to their former prominence. In the light of other new initiatives, also abandoned, such as a "disco night", many members that I spoke with felt justified in feeling that an attempt had been made to change their club against their will. By placing itself in a position of direct competition with private business or other service clubs with secular orientations, this Legion branch failed in two ways. It was not able to lure the young people away from the disco clubs, the cabarets and the lounges, and the branch also lost the long-standing members who were dissatisfied with the direction their organization was taking. The secularization attempt appears now to have been abandoned as unsuccessful.

While many individual branches within the Legion organization have developed a personality of their own based on considerations such as location, a strong ethnic or age majority in the membership or the nature of the "entertainment competition" in their area, the trend has been to retain several basic characteristics based on the sacred considerations discussed above. Veteran concerns and now retirement concerns continue to be addressed through the medium of ritual, symbol and myth (the Poppy, Remembrance Day, Cenotaphs, the Forgotten Solider, "In Flanders' Fields") as well as through political lobbying. The expression of certain values continues to take place through involvement in community service as well as through symbolization. The organization is marked by the peculiar combination of a secular and a sacred duality which Barthes (1957) argues occurs in business and in government, but which I would argue finds its fullest expression in voluntary associations.

CHAPTER FOUR - CONCLUSIONS

Through an examination of the operation of one voluntary association this thesis has indicated those processes involved in the dynamic role which these organizations assume in social change. Understanding the dynamics of this role included providing viable alternatives to traditional models of social change and the role of the individual in social change. This approach also required a re-examination of the relationship between man's political activities and his symbolizing behavior. This, in turn, led to a discussion on the role myth and ritual play in all societies. While the various threads involved in these arguments result in a rather complex pattern, the whole cloth is actually a rather simple argument, as follows.

Voluntary associations are organizations concerned with the relations of power, authority and decision-making within a social group. They are especially concerned with the distribution of power. They often form where the distribution of power is undergoing change and as a result come in various forms; some associations are concerned with defending the basis of the distribution of power, while others are concerned with changing that basis. A third form of association may be concerned with retaining the basis for the distribution but changing the actual recipients of power and prestige. In any case, voluntary associations concern themselves with questions of a political nature. The issues on which power is exercised may vary: an economic advantage (West African credit associations), or to better the political position of an ethnic minority (Ibo tribal

associations), for example, but the form by which power is sought or exercised is very smiliar.

This form is based on two systems of thought and action, the sacred and the secular, employed in the organization of a voluntary association. The secular system is comprised of an organizational structure and ideology by which day-to-day activities are facilitated. The sacred system is comprised of ideology and action which makes possible specific kinds of statements on the relations of power extant in the social system. These statements are based on the particular ability of myth and ritual to "convey a message" and "impose a message" at the same time (Barthes 1957: 117). Thus, the use of the "metalanguage" of myth and ritual allows associations to create "moral imperatives" in the ongoing negotiations between different interest groups in a society. These sanctions "stand above" the particular motives of the interest group promoting certain behavior or goals. These sanctions or moral imperatives cannot be denied because they appear ahistorical and unmotivated. They appear "natural" (Barthes 1957).

Through the use of the sacred system, associations can create a reality which "demands" changes in the larger social system. If veterans have a moral right to economic and political rewards, for example, the system must be reorganized to distribute these rewards. This reorganization must include the means whereby the moral rights of the veteran can be communicated to the larger society - thus, a veterans' organization receives a powerful mandate. Similarily, if the Ibo of Lagos have a moral right to participate in the cultural,

economic and political development of their city, the relative scarcity of their numbers compared to the Yoruba can make no difference (Barnes 1975). This methodology, based on the dynamic unity of the secular system of roles, hierarchy and organization and the sacred system of symbol, ritual and myth has been enormously successful whether applied by Orangemen in Ontario or the Tong in Singapore.

The above unity depends on a process which mediates between the secular and sacred systems and allows them to operate as a unit. This mediation depends on a process whereby needs in the secular system become objectified in the sacred system through the use of symbol, ritual or mythological metalanguage. Barthes (1957) has outlined one means whereby this may be achieved. This model would seem to indicate that this process is completed on the conscious level by the members involved. Thus, the voluntary association becomes an organization whereby the individual within society, in conjunction with others of "like mind", may direct the flow of social change within that society.

The level of "consciousness" in the motivations of such individuals is a complex problem, however, and one which this thesis does not successfully resolve. Maintaining that myth is motivated is not to argue that the process of creating myth is "cold-blooded". One indication of the power of myth (and ritual) is the sincerity of the creators. They are susceptible to their own creation. For this reason, Barthes (1957: 128) has written that the interpretation of myth must proceed carefully to avoid impoverishing myth by viewing it as mere pretext or alibi for self-seeking behavior. To so diminish

myth is to underestimate and misunderstand the extraordinary role which myth plays in the creation of a world in common.

If, as Simmel has suggested, social scientists should be addressing themselves to the issue of how men construct a world in common, then myth, ritual and symbol must be viewed as the most important tools available to man in this effort. Murphy (1971) has argued that ritual and etiquette create the illusion that there is order to the chaos of social relations while Barthes (1957) has suggested that through mythology consensus is achieved. This thesis argues that communication is basic to the human ability to construct a world in common, and basic to man's ability to communicate is the ability to symbolize. Language, symbols, ritual and myth all participate in the construction of "society" and "culture" (Geertz 1973). Voluntary associations, on the other hand, appear to be important means whereby both "society" and "culture" are affected by the goal-directed behavior of individuals.

The Royal Canadian Legion not only achieved the important precedent of disability pensions and government accountability, they also substantially contributed to the creation of a Canadian culture with the addition of such ubiquitous symbols as the poppy and the cenotaph, as well as civic ritual such as Remembrance Day. This capacity of voluntary associations to affect the "societal" or "secular" aspects of our lives as well as the "cultural" or "sacred" aspects, is an important factor in their dynamic duality. This also explains their importance in human social life.

The model developed in this thesis has application in the

analysis of all voluntary associations. It elucidates the process whereby they achieve social change or sanction social stability. It especially elucidates the process where these associations "constitute a cultural bridge" (Little 1957: 93), maintaining traditional social patterns while at the same time advocating or promoting certain types of social change.

The model also provides an alternative to the "evolutionary" model of social change which views these associations as responses to the increasing complexity of human society. It explains the appearance of voluntary associations in every type of societal group, from tribal to industrial, since questions of decision-making, power and authority occur in every human society. Finally, the model illuminates the dynamic nature of these organizations, their duality and their "magico-religious" properties (Anderson 1971: 212) which in the past have been interpreted as interesting but unimportant aspects of the operation of voluntary associations.

To conclude then, voluntary associations are organizations which utilize the powerful combination of secular organization and sacred ritual and myth to gain goal-directed change in a social group. Goal-directed change is motivated by group interests which are expressions of individual desires in the social sphere. The goals are most often concerned with the distribution of power and the use of or involvement in decision-making in the wider society. Voluntary associations, therefore, are often <u>political</u> tools which aid interest groups to negotiate terms in the ongoing competition for power, prestige and authority within any social group. But these organizations often have

a "transcendent function" as well, that is, they "stand for" something over and above the individual needs of their members. This transcendent aspect of voluntary associations gives them a cultural significance far beyond their social importance.

The Legion:

The Royal Canadian Legion has come a long way since its beginnings at the Winnipeg Unity Conference in 1921. The foresight of the founding members in the wording of the constitution and the successful construction by subsequent members of a rich symbolic life have combined to create a voluntary association of surprising endurance and strength. Beginning as a veterans' advocate, the organization has followed two generations of servicemen and women through their lifecycles; providing them with housing, education and support in their youth and in their old age. At the same time it has enriched the lives of millions of other Canadians by insisting on a recognition of, respect for and understanding of the historic past and the important institutions of Canadian society. The Legion has helped us establish a national identity; that identity is onerous to some, and outdated to others who wish to change it, but it is one we all recognize as uniquely Canadian. This is often the role of voluntary associations in society, and the Legion is no exception.

The future of the Legion is not clear, however. Like other organizations such as the Young Mens' Christian Association this association may lose touch with its own historic development in responding to present-day necessity. The concerns of the veteran are

growing fewer as their numbers are reduced by the years. The infusion of many young adults who are attracted by community service or club atmosphere but repelled by the military image of the Legion may one day result in that image slowly fading from importance. The largely working-class orientations of the early association are being replaced by middle-class occupations, charity work, community work and socializing in an elite club atmosphere. The large autonomy allowed the local branches has even now resulted in a wide diversity of style and operation. While the national organization continues to make itself felt on Parliament Hill, the resentment of other citizen groups and lobbyists has somewhat tarnished their sterling image. Many people, on hearing that I was studying the Legion often expressed surprise at my interest in a "dying institution", a conservative backwater of Canadian life. This perception is as untrue as it is unfair.

The Legion is still a vigorous institution. It continues to grow and, unlike the Young Mens' Christian Association, it continues to support itself as well as many worthy causes, charities and projects. It continues to build new, larger branches as well as retirement housing. It continues to take an interest in the needs of the individual, the community and in the future of the country. It continues to "carry the torch forward" on its own terms and by its own methods. It continues to support the "vision" first glimpsed at the League of Nations, of a world without war and yet with nationalistic pride and sacrifice. While it may view the world through a vision advantageous to itself, the Legion continues to benefit the society

around it through its pursuit of that vision. I think it will continued to do so in the future.

FOOTNOTES

1 For aid in this line of research I must thank Barbara J. Herring, L.L.B.

2 This is essentially a structural elaboration of Marx's "Naturalization" or "fetishism" ideas discussed extensively in "The Fetishism of Commodities and the Secret Thereof" (New York: International Publishers Co. In., 1967).

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